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THE IMAGE OF AMERICA IN WESTERN EUROPE

Preliminary Draft

October, 1959

Office of Research and Analysis
U. S. Information Agency

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INTRODUCTION

One of the major missions of the United States Information Agency is to disseminate, through all media of communication, material which will serve to project a favorable image of the United States to other countries and to correct misconceptions about this nation and its people and policies. Among most people of the world some sort of an image of America already exists - there are very few examples of a tabula rasa. Thus it is much less a matter of filling a vacuum than of modifying existing distorted or confused images which exist in the minds of many people in many areas.

Obviously the best guidance obtainable as to the nature and distribution of these distortions and confusions in particular countries is desirable for any efficient efforts at remedy. In the words of the White House Commission on Economic Practices Abroad, "the accurate measurement of the existing image [of America] using the modern tools of opinion research, is a prerequisite to deciding what must be done to correct it." Thus, it becomes the responsibility of the Agency, through the Survey Research Division of the Office of Research and Analysis, to delineate by use of survey techniques a systematic picture of the image of America held in the minds of the people of the world.

In the past, because of other priorities, the approach to this problem has been rather piecemeal in nature, and hence the information provided somewhat partial and limited.[1] It has become apparent that for really adequate guidance the image of America should be studied in more systematic and consecutive fashion in all its interrelated aspects - political, economic, social and cultural - with area-wide and world-wide comparisons to provide a full perspective. The present report constitutes the first step in this program, the opening phase of a continuing project - in this instance focussed upon the attitudes about America held by the people of four major NATO allies in Western Europe.

In such a preliminary, ground-breaking study, the accent is inevitably on broad indications. It is then the task of subsequent studies to dig deeper, to analyze more profoundly. In line with this approach, such a second-stage study in Great Britain focussed on the media of communication and derivation of various aspects of the image of America, has been completed and is now in first-draft. A third-stage study in Western Europe is projected to bring to bear indirect and projective techniques of questioning - what has come to be known as "motivation research" - to explore whatever additional insights this type of analysts may provide.

The image research program also is being extended into other areas of the world. A study conducted among urban Indians has been completed; a large-scale study in Japan and Okinawa will soon be in the writing stage. Other parallel studies are planned for subsequent years in all the areas of the world where such research is practicable, with particular attention devoted to university students and other elite groups.

The present survey is focussed upon major dimensions of the image of America in Western Europe. Some of the subjects of investigation include: common stereotypes held about Americans; America's cultural level and the impact of major American cultural exports on Western Europe; reactions to various aspects of American society. The aspects of the image of America studied are many and varied: it will be the task of surveys that follow to concentrate intensively on particular aspects, to add depth to the broad approach.

The surveys from which this report is derived were carried out in the four major NATO nations in Western Europe, Great Britain, West Germany, France and Italy. Interviewing was conducted in October, 1958; but since the attitudes under consideration are relatively basic, the precise date of collection is not of too much importance.

Interviewing was conducted by the organizations listed below, under their own auspices with no indication of American interest to possibly bias responses; Social Surveys (Gallup Poll) Limited; DIVO, Marktforschung - Meinungsforschung - Sozialforschung; Institut Francais d'Opinion Publique; and Istituto Italiano dell'Opinione Pubblica.

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[1] Examples of such earlier research can be found in Report No. PMS-14, "A Note on West European Feelings About the Influence of Some Major U.S. Media on Their Countries," 30 April, 1957; PMS-18 "West European Reactions to American Jazz," 11 September, 1957; and PMS-22, "West European Interest in Various Areas of American Life," 10 January 1958 - all reports of the Office of Research and Analysis (Survey Research Division), USIA.

The Image of America in Western Europe

S U M M A R Y H I G H L I G H T S

Coordinated public opinion surveys in Great Britain, West Germany, France and Italy indicate a basic atmosphere of esteem for the United States and for the American people, but within that framework the image of America held shows widely differing facets.

1. Individual freedom and democratic institutions are most often mentioned by respondents as the chief tie between their countries and the U.S., with a shared love of peace usually the next most important. Points of difference most often cited vary from country to country -- foreign policy in Britain, general way of life in West Germany and France, religion in Italy. In comparison, values cited as held in common with Soviet Russia are few and differences cited are many -- with stress upon the repressive political aspects of communism.

2. In the field of foreign policies, there is a general tendency to visualize America as providing economic and medical aid, sharing scientific progress, working for peace, supporting the U.N., opposing communism and helping small nations preserve independence. (Almost without exception, French reaction is less favorable than that in other nations.) On the negative side, little credit is given for trying to stop nuclear tests, and the most widely-accepted and disliked charges against American polities are those of internal interference with other nations and economic domination. Such familiar charges as being too preoccupied with fighting communism, supporting dictatorships, over-emphasizing the military, forcing countries to take sides, and general vacillation and inconsistence do not obtain general credence.

3. The American economy at home is highly regarded, as is the role of business and labor in the U.S. and the general standard of living, and with this goes great interest in learning more about the subject. But the effect of the American economy abroad is less favored: there is relatively infrequent rank-and-file unfavorable reaction toward American tariffs, but the spectre of American "economic imperialism" seems to be real for the bulk of the population in all four nations.

4. American science and education are well-regarded. However, despite a tendency to react favorably to American cultural life in its broadest sense, specific items, such as literature, architecture, art and music, are not apt to be highly regarded -- partiuclarly in France. There is a particularly unfavorable opinion of the treatment of the Negro in America and an increase in the proportions who deny that Progress is being made, and especially in France and Italy, a rather low opinion of American family life and the behavior of American youth.

5. Certain American "exports" appear to be welcomed and viewed as a good influence in all four countries. These include such things as tourists, students and permanent American residents, as well as American libraries, books and authors, and the Voice of America. But American newspapers and magazines are often considered to be deleterious. Particularly unfavorable reaction is aroused by American movies (in West Germany and France); by American foods and drinks and clothing styles (in France and Italy) and American jazz (in West Germany and France.)

6. The "typical" American is seen as progressive, freedom-loving, friendly and generous, and liked for these qualities. Other qualities widely ascribed to Americans are resourcefulness, hardwork and enthusiasm. But there is considerably less tendency to consider Americans particularly trustworthy, efficient, tolerant or idealistic. The chief "vices" of Americans -- and it should be noted that much fewer attribute vices than virtues to Americans - are being boastful, wasteful, domineering and materiallistic. (But the last is not always considered to be a deficiency; in Britain, as many persons say they like Americans <u>because</u> they are materialistic as say they dislike them for that reason.)

The samples were based upon the adult population (21 years and over) and comprised in each country the order of 1200 persons. In many instances, the "split-ballot" technique was used; i.e., for experimental reasons or in order to prevent where undesirable one question's conceivably influencing responses to a subsequent question or to allow for a greater number of questions being used, certain itmes were asked of only half the sample, while others were asked of an equivalent half. With a sample of 1200 persons, the results ninety-five times out of a hundred will vary no more than the order of three per cent plus or minus from the results which would be obtained if the total adult population had been interviewed. In the case of the split-ballot questions, of course, the degree of precision is somewhat less, which is also the case when sub-groups of the population rather than the total sample are being considered. All conclusions drawn in the text of this report have taken statistical considerations into account. Any persons interested in specific details in this connection are invited to consult the Office of Research and Analysis, Survey Research Division.

In addition to the figures stemming from the four-nation survey conducted in October, 1958, the report contains comparative indications from earlier studies conducted by IRI, and some references to a 1948 UNESCO study of particular interest in indicating the stability of European stereotypes concerning the American people.

In the present study, results are generally presented only for the general public in each country surveyed, and for the better educated (and generally more influential) as compared to the less educated (and generally less influential). Occasionally resutls for other sub-groups of the population are reported where the nature of the question makes such a comparison of particular interest (as for example the comparative views of men and women in the four nations on the role of women in America.) Readers interested in the comparative attitudes of other population sub-groups are invited to consult the Office of Research and Analysis for details.

T A B L E O F C O N T E N T S

INTRODUCTION i

SUMMARY HIGHLIGHTS ii

I. General Esteem for the U.S. and the American People 1

II. The Ideological Tie - Compatibility and Divergence of Beliefs and Ideas 5

A. America - Similarities and Differences 5
B. Russia - Similarities and Differences 9

III. The Foreign Policy Image of America 12

A. Favorable Judgments of Aspects of U.S. Foreign Policy and Consequent Esteem for America 12
B. Unfavorable Judgments of Aspects of U.S. Foreign Policy and Consequent Dislike for America 19
C. Some Important National Characteristics and the Nations with Which They are Associated 26

IV. The Economic Image of America 30

A. The American Economy - Domestic Aspects 30
B. The American Economy - Its Effect Abroad 38

V. The Scientific Image of America 41

A. Reactions to American Science 41

VI. The Cultural Image of America 44

A. Reaction to Cultural Life in America 44

VII. The Educational Image of America 50

A. Reaction to Education in America 50

VIII. The Social Image of America 53

A. Politics in America 53
B. The Class Structure in America vs. Russia 55
C. Race Relations in America 57
D. Family Life in America 63
E. Religion in America 71
F. Summary of Reactions to Aspects of Life in America 73

IX. Reactions to the Impact of American Culture Upon Western Europe 79

A. Person to Person Contacts 79
B. Contacts Through the Printed Word 82
C. Contacts Through Sound and Sight -- VOA and the Movies 85
D. Impact of American Religious Ideas 88
E. The Impact of American Clothing, Foods and Drinks 89
F. The Impact of American Jazz 92

X. Some Stereotypes of Americans 97

A. The "Virtues" of Americans 98
B. The Deficiencies of Americans 112

XI. Sources of the Image of America 127

XII. Appendix: Some Aspects of the U.S. Image Among Communist Sympathizers in Italy 130

I. General Esteem for the U.S. and the American People

WEST EUROPEAN'S ESTEEM FOR UNITED STATES AS A NATION DOES NOT DIFFER FROM THEIR ESTEEM FOR AMERICANS AS PEOPLE...

Before examining some of the many facets of the Image of America and the American people in Western Europe, it is advisable to assess the general esteem in which the nation and its people are held.

The results below indicate that general esteem for the U.S. as a nation is high among the people of Britain, West Germany and Italy; somewhat lower, though still favorable in the net, in France. Clearly, then, the Image of America as a nation is not viewed through generally hostile eyes as far as most West Europeans are concerned. Those who have an out-rightly adverse opinion of the U.S. range from three to no more than fourteen per cent.

When it comes to the people of America, net level of esteem is virtually identical with that found about the U.S. as a nation. Thus, it can be said that in their general reactions to the U.S. as a nation and to its people, West Europeans do not appear to make a distinction between the one and the other. It should be noted that the two questions were asked of alternate and equivalent halves of the sample, using the "split ballot" technique, so that respondents would not feel themselves under any pressure to be "consistent", and to give the same ratings to the nation and the people.

(Form A) - "Please use this card to tell me your feelings about various countries. How about the United States?"

(Form B) - "Please use this card to tell me your feelings about the people of a number of countries. How about Americans?"

	Great Britain		West Germany	
	United States	American People	United States	American People
No. of cases	(611)	(587)	(610)	(585)
Very good opinion	15%	14%	11%	11%
Good opinion	46	41	57	53
Neither good nor bad opinion	19	28	18	26
Bad opinion	8	6	3	2
Very bad opinion	1	2	*	1
No opinion	11	9	11	7
	100%	100%	100%	100%
Net Favorable[1]	52	47	65	61

	France		Italy	
	United States	American People	United States	American People
No. of cases	(624)	(596)	(635)	(637)
Very good opinion	4%	3%	29%	29%
Good opinion	33	33	38	37
Neither good nor bad opinion	37	40	12	16
Bad opinion	12	12	9	8
Very bad opinion	2	2	5	4
No opinion	12	10	7	6
	100%	100%	100%	100%
Net Favorable	23	22	53	54

[1] "Net Favorable" equals total favorable opinion minus total unfavorable, and is simply a convenient index to indicate general direction of sentiment. It is a simplification in that "Good" and "Very good" have been combined, as have "Bad" and "Very bad". "Neither good nor bad" is split evenly between good and bad.

* This symbol, here and througout the body of the report, indicates less than one-half of one per cent.

ESTEEM FOR U.S. IS HIGH - BOTH AS A NATION AND AS A PEOPLE...

In order to measure general esteem for the U.S. and the American people on a comparative as well as an absolute scale, the same questions were asked about the U.S.S.R. and the Russian people and about various neighbors of the surveyed countries. The comparative results indicate that in general the U.S. and Americans are considerably more esteemed than various neighboring peoples. (A single exception is France, where the British are on a level with Americans, and Britain as a nation is slightly more esteemed than the U.S.) The findings also indicate that the Russian people, though rather more popular than their nation, are far down on the negative side.

"Please use this card to tell me your feelings about various countries."

"Please use this card to tell me your feelings about the people of a number of countries."

NET ESTEEM FOR VARIOUS COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

	In Great Britain		In West Germany		In France		In Italy	
	Country	People	Country	People	Country	People	Country	People
No. of cases	(611)	(587)	(610)	(585)	(624)	(596)	(635)	(637)
U. S. and Americans	52	47	65	61	23	22	53	54
Britain and British	(Not Asked)		34	31	37	26	25	19
France and French	11	18	10	9	(Not Asked)		28	21
U.S.S.R. and Russians	-36	-32	-62	-51	-37	-38	-14	-6

COMPARISON OF BETTER-EDUCATED AND LESS-EDUCATED RESPONDENTS' ATTITUDE...

For all of the questions in the present survey comparisons are available of the differing attitudes of different sub-groups in the populations of the four countries - according to degree of education socio-economic status, and political affiliation. In addition, on many questions comparative results are also available according to sex, occupation, age and region of the country. All these data are available for inspection in the Office of Research and Analysis, USIA; but in order to keep tabular material to a minimum in a long report, only a single comparison within nations will be used consistently for each closed-end question though from time to time, other group comparisons may be made where they appear to be particularly significant.

The standard comparison chosen is that of education as a rough indication of elite status. Although this factor is naturally rather closely correlated with occupation and socio-economic status and even sex and political affiliation, inspection of the tabular material indicates that it appears generally to discriminate more sharply between attitudes than any of the other criteria. This is particularly so in later sections of the report dealing with cultural aspects of the U.S.

Since educational standards and systems differ between nations and since the groups are not strictly comparable nation by nation, great care should be taken in international comparisons, and attention rather should be focussed on the differences by education within nations. In all nations, the lower educational group consists of those who have received primary education or none at all. Although these groups should theoretically be comparable between nations, it should be remembered that the definition of "primary" education varies between nations and that the group also includes those with less than primary education or even with none, and we can suspect - to cite merely one example - that this functionally illiterate group would be considerably more common within the broad primary category in Italy than in France. The upper educational group represents those with lycee or technical school or college education. In France and West Germany, the two educational groups are inclusive of the total sample; in Britain and Italy, a small indeterminate middle group was omitted as unassignable since in both nations its upper elements appeared to be closest to the upper educational group and its lower elements to the lower educational group and since the manner in which the data was collected made it impossible to split the group.

In general, comparisons will be presented in terms of "Net" precentages only, in the interests of space, though occasionally, as in the table following, the complete results will be presented.

BETTER-EDUCATED TEND TO HOLD U.S. IN HIGHER ESTEEM THAN LESS-EDUCATED...

In three out of four nations, the better-educated elements of the population indicate greater esteem for the U.S. than those with no more than primary education. The contrast is particularly great in France and Italy - to a considerable extent because of the concentration of communist sympathizers within the lower educational group. Only in Britain are results almost identical for the two education groups.

In comparing "Net Favorable" reactions it should be remembered that this index can be affected considerably by a large "no opinion" percentage which tends to reduce the size of the net reaction even when, among those with opinions in both groups, the favorable and unfavorable reactions tend to be in about the same ratios. This factor is insignificant in France and Italy; but in West Germany it does appear to account for a considerable amount of the difference in net favorable reaction between the two groups.

"Please use this card to tell me your feelings about various countries. How about...?"

The United States

Reaction of More-educated and Less-educated

	Great Britain		West Germany[1]	
No. of cases	Secondary/ College Ed. (89)	Primary Ed. or none (409)	Secondary/ College Ed. (102)	Primary Ed. or none (508)
Very good opinion	15%	14%	} 77%	} 65%
Good opinion	47	44		
Neither good nor bad opinion	20	21	19	18
Bad opinion	10	8	} 3	} 4
Very bad opinion	1	1		
No opinion	7	12	1	13
	100%	100%	100%	100%
Net Favorable	51	49	74	61

	France		Italy	
No. of cases	Secondary/ College Ed. (116)	Primary Ed. or none (506)	Secondary/ College Ed. (123)	Primary Ed. or none (410)
Very good opinion	6%	3%	40%	25%
Good opinion	44	30	40	36
Neither good nor bad opinion	37	38	12	12
Bad opinion	8	13	2	12
Very bad opinion	2	2	2	6
No opinion	3	14	4	9
	100%	100%	100%	100%
Net Favorable	40	18	76	43

[1] In West Germany, the "Very good" and "Good" and the "Very bad" and "Bad" percentages were combined.

II. The Ideological Tie - Compatibility and Divergence of Beliefs and Ideas

Transcending simple liking and esteem is the feeling of compatibility of beliefs and ideas, of definite ideological ties, of common and shared attitudes and conceptions. Along with this goes the problem of divergence - where in the area of beliefs and ideas do nations differ? This section of the report will deal with the Image of America in these two broad aspects of compatibility and divergence. And as a corollary, parallel indications will be analyzed for Soviet Russia.

A. America - Similarities and Differences

WEST EUROPEANS SEE GREATEST SHARING OF TIES WITH U.S. IN POLITICAL AREA AND ABOVE ALL IN COMMON FREEDOM FOR THE INDIVIDUAL...

A recurring theme - the freedom of the individual - appears to stand out most in the minds of the people of all four nations as representing the chief common tie with America. It is not so much the forms of democratic government (though these are sometimes intertwined with the main theme) as it is the end product - respect for the individual - which draws the greatest response. And on this one issue the four peoples are in agreement though they vary considerably in their citing of other common ties. Thus the theme of individual freedom in America appears to have considerable credibility and attraction in the heart of the Atlantic Alliance.

On other aspects of shared beliefs, people of the nations differ in emphasis. The British and West Germans, for example, are particularly apt to stress a mutual desire for peace, as well as policies and actions aimed at preserving peace. The British, as might be expected, cite a common cultural heritage to a larger extent than others. Anti-Communism is emphasized in Germany alone. A shared religion and morality attract substantial mention only in Italy. References to a similar economic system are rather frequent in Germany and Italy, but not elsewhere. Science, technology and progress appear to strike feelings of particular compatibility with the French. In Britain, nearly all respondents have something to say. In contrast, half of those in France can mention nothing they have in common with the U.S. - situation that appears to nearly the same extent in Italy.

"Thinking of (survey country) and the United States, what beliefs and ideas do you think the two countries have in common?" [1]

No. of cases	Great Britain (587)	West Germany (585)	France (596)	Italy (637)
Freedom for the individual, respect of individuals, civil liberties, democracy, democratic form of government	32%	31%	26%	36%
Desire for peace, preservation of peace	23	17	9	9
Capitalist system, similar economic problems, ways of business, commerce	4	13	4	9
Opposition to Communism, communist domination [2]	5	18	4	2
Decent living standard, social security, welfare legislation, full employment	5	5	5	5
Religion, Christianity, similar morality	5	1	1	11
Common culture (language), roots in Western civilization	10	-	1	-
Similarities in material ways of life, household facilities, family life	6	-	1	-
Similarities in science, technology, medicine, general material progress	1	-	6	-
Are old allies, old friends, present allies, NATO members	3	-	3	-
Peaceful use of atomic energy	4	-	-	-
Similar educational system	2	-	-	-
Miscellaneous	4	9	1	9
"Everything" in common	3	1	-	1
"Nothing" in common	3	1	13	8
No opinion	14	22	39	35
	124% [3]	118% [3]	114% [3]	127% [3]

1 Classification of responses was carried out individually in the four nations. Thus, despite broad general agreement on the major categories, there are certain variations between nations which stem from the coding. A main example would be in the "Miscellaneous" category set up for responses given by less than one per cent. Thus it is possible that a few respondents may actually have given responses where the table indicates blanks and that this handful of responses may have gone into the "Miscellaneous" category. However, this would always be a matter of less than one per cent.

2 In France (and presumably Italy) some of the responses in this category were clearly unfavorable to the U.S. and apparently were given by pro-communist respondents.

3 Totals add to more than 100 per cent because some respondents mentioned more than one item.

GERMANS AND ITALIANS ESPECIALLY INCLINED TO ASSOCIATE CONCEPT OF INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM WITH U.S. ...

Not only is "individual freedom" seen as the main tie with America, but in two nations - Italy and West Germany - the phrase "Freedom of the Individual" is firmly attached to the U.S. to an even greater extent than to their own nation. When respondents are asked to name the country to which the phrase most applies, close to half the West Germans and a third of the Italians almost automatically name the United States, with no other nation even close.[1]

In France and Britain, the U.S. is infrequently cited mainly because most respondents name their own nation. But this does not mean that the phrase is not associated with the U.S.: it more likely indicates a greater pride in their own democratic institutions which are shared with America.

"Here are some words and phrases. What country do you think each phrase applies to most?"

	"Freedom of the Individual"			
No. of cases	Great Britain (611)	West Germany (610)	France (624)	Italy (635)
U.S.	14%	43%	5%	36%
West Germany	-	18	-	-
England	66	1	-	3
France	-	*	67	2
Switzerland	-	3	-	3
Soviet Union	1	2	1	10
Italy	-	-	-	10
Other countries	3	1	5	5
No opinion	13	32	22	29
No country	3	-	-	2
	100%	100%	100%	100%

[1] It is interesting that so few West Germans and Italians mention their own country and suggests a considerable realism of response and remembrance of past regimes. It might be supposed that West Germans and Italians were not aware that they could name their own countries were it not for the fact that the same question wording was used in France and Britain where two out of three respondents named their own nation.

FOUR NATIONS TEND TO VARY IN CITING AS DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THEMSELVES AND U.S....

The main ideas and beliefs shared with America show a rather similar pattern in all four nations. But when it comes to areas of difference, there is no such concentration of views. For the British, American race relations and disagreement over China, Suez and colonialism are the chief beliefs and ideas which divide them from America. For West Germany it is basically a generally different way of life, something strange, speedy, mechanized, superficial. For the French, it is the general way of life, but also such specific items as foreign policies, racial prejudice and America's allegedly lower level of culture and humanism. Among Italians, the general way of life is seen as an important difference, but the greater emphasis is on differences of religion, with America's "inferior" morality and family life also a major barrier. In Britain nearly one in five and in West Germany one in four volunteer the response that there is "nothing" in the nature of differing beliefs and ideas and large proportions in all the countries surveyed express no opinion.

"Thinking of (survey country) and the U.S., what beliefs and ideas do the two countries differ about?"

	Great Britain	West Germany	France	Italy
No. of cases	(587)	(585)	(596)	(637)
General way of life: social activities, labor-saving devices, standard of living, up-to-date ways, faster pace, greater (excessive) freedom, superficiality, different psychology	7%	14%	18%	16%
Foreign policy differences: China, Suez, colonialism German reunification, general	15%	3	12	-
Racial inequality, prejudice, color bar	13	-	11	-
Religious ideas, Protestantism	1	1	2	18
More open economic system in America, freer, less class barriers	2	3	5	6
America less humanistic, individual counts for less, U.S. less cultured, younger, rawer, more impressed with money; educational differences	2	1	10	1
Different ways of politics, ideology, administration	5	-	3	3
American low morality, family life	-	-	-	11
America lags in social services	-	-	6	3
America leads in science, technology	-	-	7	-
America more belligerent, rigid, hostile to Communism	4	-	1	-
Nuclear weapons tests	4	-	-	-
America seeks to dominate us	1	-	2	-
Miscellaneous	11	8	2	11
"Everything"	*	-	1	3
"Nothing", "very little", "not much"	16	27	2	10
No opinion	30	46	40	32
	111%[1]	103%[1]	122%[1]	114%[1]

1 Totals add to more than 100 per cent as some respondents mentioned more than one item.

B. Russia - Similarities and Differences

VERY FEW CAN CITE BELIEFS AND IDEAS HELD IN COMMON WITH SOVIET RUSSIA; "NOTHING AT ALL" ACCOUNTS FOR PREDOMINANCE OF RESPONSES...

In all four nations, only small minorities ranging from a fourth to a tenth can cite even the slightest compatibility of beliefs and ideas between their own nations and Soviet Russia. And most of those who give no positive response are not simply held back through ignorance: they respond to the question with a decided "Nothing in common."

Even among those few who do see some ties, the responses often are qualified, or stress innocuous and tenuous ties. Those who stress a common desire for peace sometimes distinguish between the Soviet regime and the Russian people. Others stress the fact that Russia too is industrial and needs trade and markets, or that the people of both nations share an interest in science, ballet, music, sports and the like. Thus mutuality of beliefs and ideas is for the greater part limited to those spheres which any industrial nations or European peoples have in common.

Only in Italy do real ideological ties appear to be of some importance. In that nation there is some stress on international solidarity of the working class, on a similarity of belief in general welfare and progress and on opposition capitalism. But here it seems clear that respondents are in fact justifying their own or their political group's feeling of solidarity with the Soviet Union rather than specifically answering the question since the question asked for similarities of belief and opinion between Italy as a country and the Soviet Union and few of the pro-Communists respondents giving such an answer can actually have felt that such ties existed between Russia and Italy as a nation at the present time.

The result suggest that the Soviet State at the present appears to have failed to develop or to have answered even the most tenuous ties of compatibility of belief and idea with the great majority of the people of Western Europe.

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1 As one British respondent said, "the ordinary people want peace and friendship, but I don't think the leaders do."

"And what about (survey country) and Soviet Russia -- what beliefs and ideas do you think the two countries have in common?"

No. of cases	Great Britain (611)	West Germany (610)	France (624)	Italy (635)
Working-class solidarity, socialism, progress, freedom, general welfare, helping common man, improving standard of living, equality, fighting capitalism	4%	2%	6%	15%
Mutual desire for peace; ordinary people want peace, nobody really wants a war	5	3	1	5
Industrial structure; both industrialized, have manufacturing and trade, need markets	4	3	1	-
Culture - ballet, music, drama; both share in European past, way of life; both Europeans	4	1	3	-
Interest in science, rockets, etc.	2	-	3	-
Sports	4	-	-	-
Mutual mistrust	2	-	-	-
Miscellaneous	6	1	-	6
"Everything"	*	-	-	-
"Nothing", "not much", "very little"	52	66	37	45
No opinion	21	25	49	33
	104%[1]	101%[1]	100%	104%[1]

[1] Totals add to more than 100 per cent because some respondents mentioned more than one item.

BUT RESPONDENTS HAVE MUCH LESS TROUBLE CITING WAYS IN WHICH THEIR NATIONS DIFFER FROM SOVIET RUSSIAN IN BELIEFS AND IDEAS...

Inability to cite specific examples, in contrast, does not apply to the same extent when it comes to differences between Soviet Russia and their own nations.

It is the area of individual freedom which respondents most often cite as a difference, and the conflict of totalitarianism vs. democracy. General ideological contrasts and economic ideas are also cited frequently - generally with less hostility or even with none in a few cases. The religious gulf is important in Italy, and the tone is often one of indignation. In France and Germany, this area is infrequently mentioned; and in England, although numerical mention is fairly high, the tone is often factual or non-committal rather than emotional.

Except in West Germany, where reunification is often cited, differences of foreign policy are not often brought up. In France there is a tendency for respondents to cite the whole way of life, the difference in culture and civilization.

"What beliefs and ideas do (survey country) and the Soviet Union differ about?"

	Great Britain	West Germany	France	Italy
No. of cases	(611)	(610)	(624)	(635)
Political differences: totalitarianism vs. democracy, parliamentary institutions, freedom of individual, forced labor, secret police, police state, lack of common civil liberties	34%	30%	30%	17%
Ideology: they are communists, different economic ideas, different system, we are against communism	11	31	13	17
Religious differences: Russians, unchristian, atheists, antichristian, no Sunday, only tolerate religion, we differ over religion	13	5	5	18
General conflict of foreign policy, they desire to dominate world, German reunification	6	13	1	1
Whole way of life, civilization, mentality, culture, Slav vs. Latin	3	3	9	4
Differences over nuclear testing, disarmament, the atom (N.B. some responses pro-Russian here)	4	3	1	-
Class system (N.B. often pro-Russian)	3	-	-	3
Lower Russian living standard	-	-	4	-
Over royalty, the monarchy	2	-	-	-
Miscellaneous	10	2	4	3
"Everything"	9	6	3	14
"Nothing"	1	*	2	1
No opinion	22	20	40	31
	118%[1]	113%[1]	112%[1]	109%[1]

[1] Totals add to more than 100 per cent because some respondents mentioned more than one item.

III. The Foreign Policy Image of America

A. Favorable Judgments of Aspects of U.S. Foreign Policy and Consequent Esteem for America

We have noted in the preceding section that an important area in which Frenchmen and Englishmen in particular feel their ideas and beliefs differ from those of the United States is that of foreign policy.

The section deals with some of the most important general aspects of American foreign policy, though it does not claim to be completely inclusive. It does, however, cover those points of praise and criticism which opinion surveys over several years have shown to be among the most common and others which have been suggested by specialists in West European affairs.

The results are discussed in the order of the largest amount of net favorable reaction down a continuum through the zero point and on to the largest net negative reaction. The question form - a new one devised for the purposes of this study - first seeks to discover just how widely certain policies and actions are attributed to America. The second part of the question carries the examination a necessary step further and asks those who attribute the policy to America whether this is something they like a lot about America or dislike a lot about America or whether they don't care much one way or the other. The final net favorable figure is a rough index of how much net credit or discredit for the U.S. is involved.

AMONG VARIOUS ASPECTS OF FOREIGN POLICY, HEALTH ASSISTANCE AND ECONOMIC AID MOST GENERALLY RECOGNIZED AND CLASSIFIED AS A REASON FOR LIKING AMERICA...

Two types of aid - health and disease control, and economic aid - are attributed to the U.S. by majorities ranging from nearly two out of three up to eight out of ten. And the reaction among those who feel the statements to be true is almost all favorable - each type of aid is seen as something about America which is liked a lot. And there appears to be little evidence of surface "resentment" for economic aid - a theory which has been frequently advanced in the past. The results do not rule out the possibility of a deep-level or unconscious resentment, but until this is actually indicated, any hypothesis of widespread resentment in Western Europe over past American economic aid must be considered as not proven.

"Now I'm going to read you a few statements that have sometimes been made about the U.S. Please indicate for each statement whether or not you consider it on the whole to be true about the U.S. How about...?"

"They have contributed a great deal to other countries to help improve health and eliminate diseases."

(If "True"): "Now, I want to ask you this: Is this something you like a lot about America, dislike a lot about America, or doesn't it matter very much to you?"

	Great Britain	West Germany	France	Italy
They have contributed a great deal to other countries to help improve health and eliminate diseases[1]				
No. of cases	(587)	(585)	(596)	(637)
Like a lot	68%	78%	61%	60%
Dislike a lot	1	1	-	1
Doesn't matter very much	2	*	1	*
No opinion	6	1	1	1
Per cent "True"	77%	80%	63%	62%
Net Favorable ("Like" minus "Dislike")	67	77	61	59
They have given economic and financial aid to countries that need it				
No. of cases	(611)	(610)	(624)	(635)
Like a lot	62%	79%	58%	58%
Dislike a lot	2	1	5	1
Doesn't matter very much	4	3	2	5
No opinion	6	1	3	1
Per cent "True"	74%	84%	68%	65%
Net Favorable	60	78	53	57

[1] It will be noted that in response to this question and succeeding questions of this sort, a handful of respondents will give what appear to be irrational responses. Thus, for example, at first glance it is hard to see how a person could agree that the U.S. had contributed to health and welfare and then say that it was something he dislike a lot about the U.S. But the respondent could be a dedicated communist who agreed that America was working effectively in this field and dislike it because he felt that it was gaining credit for the U.S., or the question may have been misinterpreted; or the respondent may have been one of those somewhat irrational persons, a handful of whom can be found in every sample just as they can be found in the general population. So long as they do not appear to exceed a per cent or two, they can perhaps be disregarded.

EXTENT OF SHARING OF TECHNICAL AND SCIENTIFIC PROGRESS ATTRACTS LESS FAVORABLE REACTION...

Another facet of the foreign aid aspect of American foreign policy -- that of sharing scientific and technological progress with other nations -- attracts considerably less credit than the two previous types of aid. Only in West Germany does a majority affirm such to be true of America, whereas in Britain and France only the order of one in three concede it. (One possibility for the low level of acceptance in the latter two nations is the knowledge that there are certain scientific and technical processes which have not been shared.)

They have shared their scientific and technological progress with other countries

	Great Britain	West Germany	France	Italy
No. of cases	(611)	(610)	(624)	(635)
Like a lot	34%	58%	28%	39%
Dislike a lot	1	1	1	1
Doesn't matter very much	1	3	2	3
No opinion	3	*	2	1
Per cent "True"	39%	62%	33%	44%
Net Favorable	33	57	27	38

AMERICA'S WORK FOR WORLD PEACE WIDELY CREDITED EXCEPT IN FRANCE...

To a considerable extent (but significantly less than in the case of health and welfare aid the picture of America as a consistent and effective worker for peace is both accepted and is considered a reason for liking America. The single exception is France where American credit for such a role is substantially below that in other nations.

They have worked consistently and effectively for world peace

	Great Britain	West Germany	France	Italy
No. of cases	(611)	(610)	(624)	(635)
Like a lot	53%	52%	30%	42%
Dislike a lot	*	*	1	-
Doesn't matter very much	2	1	-	1
No opinion	5	*	1	2
Per cent "True"	60%	53%	32%	45%
Net Favorable	53	52	29	42

[1] Acceptance of the statement that the U.S. "has worked consistently and effectively for world peace" occasionally falls short of feeling that America is doing everything it should in this area. In the same survey, respondents were asked whether America was "doing all it should to prevent a new world war." In Britain and West Germany, 41 and 43 per cent, respectively believed so -- rather less than gave the U.S. credit for working for world peace. In France and Italy, however, the figures from the two modes of questioning were quite close. The two questions, of course, differ somewhat and it is entirely possible to feel that the U.S. is working "consistently and effectively" but is still not quite doing all it should.

U.S. SUPPORT OF UNITED NATIONS DRAWS MOST FAVORABLE REACTION IN BRITAIN AND WEST GERMANY, LEAST FAVORABLE IN ITALY AND FRANCE ...

America's strong support for the U.N. is considered to be true by two out of three in Britain and West Germany and is generally cited as something to be praised. In Italy, the net favorable reaction is considerably smaller. In France only four in ten agree that the description applies and not many more than half of that group say that it is something they like about America. In France it seems likely that a record of strong support of the U.N., even when accepted as true, is by no means a sure route to favor.

They are strong supporters of the U.N.	Great Britain	West Germany	France	Italy
No. of cases	(587)	(585)	(596)	(637)
Like a lot	55%	57%	23%	33%
Dislike a lot	1	3	6	3
Doesn't matter very much	7	4	7	8
No opinion	6	1	3	2
Per cent "True"	69%	65%	39%	46%
Net Favorable	54	54	17	30

AMERICA'S FIRM STAND AGAINST COMMUNISM WIDELY ACKNOWLEDGED, BUT IN ITALY ELICITS A CONSIDERABLE PROPORTION OF NEGATIVE REACTION ...

Clear majorities in all four countries agree that America has taken a firm stand against Communism; but in three countries segments to the extent of a tenth to a fifth of the population which attribute the policy to the U.S. do not find this a reason for liking America. In Italy, a fifth of the population[1] - mainly consisting of PCI and to a lesser extent of PSI supporters - find this something to dislike a great deal.

They have taken a firm stand against Communism	Great Britain	West Germany	France	Italy
No. of cases	(611)	(610)	(624)	(635)
Like a lot	62%	68%	38%	48%
Dislike a lot	5	3	7	20
Doesn't matter very much	8	6	7	5
No opinion	7	*	6	2
Per cent "True"	82%	77%	58%	75%
Net Favorable	57	65	31	28

1 In France, the negative reaction was considerably smaller although in elections held reasonably close to the time of the survey the Communist vote continued at the 20-25 per cent level. It is possible that many of the French Communist sympathizers simply avoided the question as evidenced by the fact that the proportion in France ascribing this policy to the U.S. is significantly below that found in the other countries.

U.S. HELP FOR SMALL NATIONS' INDEPENDENCE GENERALLY APPROVED BY THOSE ATTRIBUTING IT TO AMERICA, BUT IN FRANCE AND ITALY LESS THAN HALF FEEL IT APPLIES ...

American support for the independence of small nations is generally a source of credit among those who attribute it to U.S. policies. But again in France and Italy, the net favorable reaction is fairly low: not because there is opposition to such a policy but because only a limited proportion attribute it to the U.S.

They have helped small nations maintain their independence	Great Britain	West Germany	France	Italy
No. of cases	(587)	(585)	(596)	(637)
Like a lot	43%	59%	28%	34%
Dislike a lot	1	1	3	3
Doesn't matter very much	5	2	2	2
No opinion	5	1	2	2
Per cent "True"	54%	63%	35%	41%
Net Favorable	42	58	25	31

RELATIVELY LITTLE CREDIT GIVEN U.S. FOR TRYING HARD TO STOP THE TESTING OF ATOMIC WEAPONS ...

Only minorities in all four countries attribute to the U.S. sincere attempts to stop the testing of atomic weapons. On this issue, British opinion, generally the most favorable, is lowest along with French. But in all nations it is clear that the American's credit in this field of foreign policy is no better than moderate.

They have tried very hard to stop the testing of atomic weapons	Great Britain	West Germany	France	Italy
No. of cases	(587)	(585)	(596)	(637)
Like a lot	18%	35%	17%	38%
Dislike a lot	2	1	1	-
Doesn't matter very much	2	1	1	3
No opinion	4	1	-	1
Per cent "True"	26%	38%	19%	42%
Net Favorable	16	34	16	38

ANOTHER TYPE OF QUESTIONING INDICATES THAT U.S. CREDIT IN ENDING THE PRODUCTION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS IS NO HIGHER THAN THAT OF RUSSIA ...

When another facet of the subject of nuclear weapons is investigated by a different type of question, the results indicate that the theme "ending the production of nuclear weapons" is just as likely to rebound to Russia's credit as to that of the U.S. With the exception of West Germany, where the U.S. has a slight edge, respondents are just about as likely to name Russia as to name America as the nation to which the phrase is most applicable. (In Britain, the preponderance of respondents name their own country with Russia and the U.S. very distant also-rans.)

"Here are some words or phrases (CARD), What country do you think each phrase applies to most?"

"Ending the production of nuclear weapons."

	Great Britain (587)	West Germany (585)	France (596)	Italy (611)
U.S.	5%	19%	7%	23%
West Germany	-	6	-	-
England	41	3	-	-
France	-	*	18	-
Other West European countries	-	2	-	-
Soviet Union	9	11	7	19
Asiatic countries	-	2	-	-
Other countries	4	-	9	5
No opinion	24	57	56	42
No country	17	-	-	11
U.S.A. and U.S.S.R.	-	-	3	-
	100%	100%	100%	100%

U.S. HARDLY GIVEN MORE CREDIT THAN SOVIET RUSSIA FOR EFFORTS TO BAN ATOMIC TESTS...

When the question is asked directly as a comparison between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. with other nations excluded, a similar pattern is observed: the "lead" of America is rather small. And a further dimension is added when it is noted that in three countries the plurality reaction is that neither nation is making any efforts - an unusual result when it is considered that such a response had to be volunteered by the respondent outside the framework of the question. The results indicate little change since spring, 1957, when the question was previously asked.

"In your opinion which country - the U.S. or the U.S.S.R. - has been making the more serious efforts to date toward the banning of atomic weapons tests?"

	Great Britain		West Germany		France		Italy	
	May '57	Oct. '58	May '57	Oct. '58	May '57	Oct. '58	May '57	Oct. '58
No. of cases	(627)	(611)	(589)	(610)	(598)	(624)	(635)	(635)
U.S.	21%	26%	33%	27%	18%	15%	30%	34%
U.S.S.R.	14	17	4	9	9	10	10	17
Equal (Vol.)	10	10	12	15	5	11	13	13
Neither making any (Vol.)	37	33	36	32	39	42	26	20
No opinion	18	14	15	17	29	22	21	16
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Net Favorable to U.S.	7	9	29	18	9	5	20	17

B. Unfavorable Judgments of Aspects of U.S. Foreign Policy and Consequent Dislike for America

The questions which follow are in the same form as the preceding ones: does the statement apply to America; if so, does the respondent like or dislike this about America, or does it make no difference. However, where the preceding statements were favorable in tone for most respondents, those to follow are likely to be considered negatively.

DESPITE PERENNIAL CRITICISM FEW DISLIKE U.S. "PREOCCUPATION" WITH FIGHTING COMMUNISM...

America's "preoccupation" with fighting Communism to the exclusion of a more positive approach has been a perennial whipping boy of pundits on both sides of the Atlantic. But it does not appear to be a major source of popular disaffection. The statement frequently is considered to be true of American policies, but almost as many say on the average they like this alledged excess of zeal as say they dislike it. The results are notable since the question is phrased in negative terms - "too preoccupied". One who disagreed could simply say the statement was not true of America. Yet despite this easy way out, a considerable body of opinion literally broke out of the bounds of the question and denied the very premise that it was possible to be too zealous in fighting Communism. The results should be compared with those on page 16, where the statement was presented in a positive way and where it was found that the reaction, except in Italy, was mainly favorable.

They a r e too preoccupied with fighting Communism

No. of cases	Great Britain (611)	West Germany (610)	France (624)	Italy (635)
Like a lot	9%	18%	7%	19%
Dislike a lot	18	10	13	22
Doesn't matter very much	10	9	6	6
No opinion	5	1	6	2
Per cent "True"	42%	38%	32%	49%
Net Favorable	-9	8	-6	-3

HOSTILITY TOWARD U.S. 'APPEASEMENT' OF AFRO-ASIAN NATIONS SERIOUS ONLY IN FRANCE...

Another often-heard criticism of American policies, particularly in Britain and France, has been that of appeasing Africa and Asia at the expense of Western Europe. (Suez, Algeria, and Indonesia have often been cited.) Only in France does there appear to be even moderately widespread ill-feeling on this issue: in that nation the charge is believed true by one in three and classed as a reason for disliking America by nearly all of this group. Elsewhere only one in five accept the applicability of the statement and only about half of this minority express strong dislike.

They generally appease Asian and African nations at the expense of Western European nations

No. of cases	Great Britain (587)	West Germany (585)	France (596)	Italy (637)
Like a lot	2%	5%	1%	4%
Dislike a lot	13	11	30	12
Doesn't matter very much	2	4	2	3
No opinion	3	1	2	1
Per cent "True"	20%	21%	35%	20%
Net Favorable	-11	-6	-29	-8

LIMITED TENDENCY TO SEE AMERICA AS SUPPORTER OF DICTATORIAL GOVERNMENTS...

A charge with wide popular credence in Latin America, - U.S. support of dictatorship and unpopular governments - is generally not considered true in Western Europe. Among those who accept the statement as applicable to America, nearly all cite it as something they dislike; but only the order of one in five accept it to begin with.

They too often support dictatorships and unpopular governments

No. of cases	Great Britain (611)	West Germany (610)	France (624)	Italy (635)
Like a lot	*%	2%	-%	1%
Dislike a lot	15	15	18	17
Doesn't matter very much	3	4	2	2
No opinion	3	*	1	*
Per cent "True"	21%	21%	21%	20%
Net Favorable	-15	-13	-18	-16

OVER-EMPHASIS ON THE MILITARY AT EXPENSE OF ECONOMIC ALSO NOT A WIDESPREAD POPULAR CRITICISM OF AMERICAN POLICIES...

A criticism often going hand in hand with "preoccupation" with fighting communism is that of an alleged American tendency to overemphasize the military in their policies at the expense of the economic. Here again there appears to be a rather limited amount of ill-will created in Western Europe by this "failing." The order of one in four agree with the charge, but an appreciable proportion do not appear to hold it against the U.S. While the charge may be a serious one in underdeveloped areas, it would not appear at the present to have been a very effective vehicle for anti-American propaganda in Western Europe.

They place too much emphasis on the military in their policies and too little on the economic

No. of cases	Great Britain (611)	West Germany (610)	France (624)	Italy (635)
Like a lot	2%	3%	-%	2%
Dislike a lot	21	15	16	17
Doesn't matter very much	5	5	6	3
No opinion	3	*	2	*
Per cent "True"	31%	23%	24%	22%
Net Favorable	-19	-12	-16	-15

1 See report LA-16, "Recent Trends in Latin American Opinion Toward the United States and the Soviet Union," Confidential, October, 1958.

"FORCING OTHER NATIONS TO TAKE SIDES IN COLD WAR" APPEARS TO BE RATHER WIDESPREAD IRRITANT, PARTICULARLY IN FRANCE AND ITALY...

In all four nations, a third or more of the population feel that America does try to force other nations to take sides in the Cold War. In France and Italy most respondents are likely to go a step further and say that this is something they dislike.

They try to force countries to take sides in the Cold War

No. of cases	Great Britain (587)	West Germany (585)	France (596)	Italy (637)
Like a lot	3%	6%	3%	-%
Dislike a lot	23	20	32	29
Doesn't matter very much	8	5	4	6
No opinion	3	1	2	1
Per cent "True"	37%	32%	41%	36%
Net Favorable	-20	-14	-29	-29

BELIEF IN VACILLATION AND INCONSISTENCY OF U.S. POLICIES APPEARS TO BE MOST SERIOUS IN FRANCE AND BRITAIN...

To about the same extent as found in the preceding statement, the belief that American policies are vacillating and inconsistent appears to be a source of dislike in Western Europe. The statement is accepted most widely in Britain and France.

Their international policies are vacillating and inconsistent

No. of cases	Great Britain (611)	West Germany (610)	France (624)	Italy (635)
Like a lot	1%	*%	-%	-%
Dislike a lot	26	21	33	14
Doesn't matter very much	5	3	3	2
No opinion	5	-	1	1
Per cent "True"	37%	24%	37%	17%
Net Favorable	-25	-21	-33	-14

THE ISSUE OF UNWILLINGNESS TO NEGOTIATE SERIOUSLY WITH COMMUNISTS APPEARS TO BE LESS SERIOUS THAN MIGHT HAVE BEEN EXPECTED...

Another charge frequently made against American policy - that of unwillingness to negotiate seriously with Communist countries - attracts rather less criticism than some might have expected. However, in Great Britain as many as the order of one half consider such a charge to be true, and as many as a third confess to disliking it a lot.

It should be remembered that the survey antedates the meetings of the American and Russian chiefs of state and the probability of a Summit Conference. Thus it is likely that the pertinence of any such criticism is considerably less than in the past.

They haven't been willing enough to negotiate seriously with Communist countries

	Great Britain	West Germany	France	Italy
No. of cases	(587)	(585)	(596)	(637)
Like a lot	5%	5%	2%	5%
Dislike a lot	36	26	25	23
Doesn't matter very much	6	1	4	2
No opinion	5	1	2	1
Per cent "True"	52%	33%	33%	31%
Net Favorable	-31	-21	-23	-18

BUT THE CHARGE OF "INTERFERENCE" STRIKES A SENSITIVE NERVE...

Of the various critical statements tested, only one approached majority acceptance in the area - that of interference in the internal affairs of other nations.[1] In Britain, Germany and Italy as many as a third of the population indicate that this alleged flaw in American international policies attracts their dislike; and in France an absolute majority indicate disfavor. Among all of the criticisms of American policies, "meddling" appears to be the most widely accepted and to possess the greatest emotional overtones. When a nation possesses the power and responsibility of the United States, such a charge is almost inevitably given wide credence. Britain in the 19th century is a case in point. Thus, the large proportion of West Europeans who consider America guilty of internal interference may be discounted somewhat. But the statement was made in this form in order to test receptivity to the frequent charges of this sort against the U.S., and to chart the vulnerability of the people of our major NATO allies to a standard Communist propaganda gambit.

They interfere in the internal affairs of other countries

	Great Britain	West Germany	France	Italy
No. of cases	(611)	(610)	(624)	(635)
Like a lot	3%	4%	2%	4%
Dislike a lot	37	37	58	35
Doesn't matter very much	6	10	5	5
No opinion	4	*	3	*
Per cent "True"	50%	51%	68%	44%
Net Favorable	-34	-33	-56	-31

[1] This is not confined to Western Europe and is even more widely accepted in Latin America. See Report LA-16, cited earlier.

BETTER EDUCATED MORE DISCRIMINATING IN JUDGMENTS ABOUT U.S. POLICIES -- GENERALLY MORE FAVORABLE, BUT OCCASIONALLY MORE UNFAVORABLE ...

When the reactions of the better educated are compared with those of the less well educated on the series of statements about U.S. policies the overall trend is not a simple one. As study of the tables following reveals the better educated are generally more ready to express belief in favorable statements about the U.S. and to indicate these aspects of U.S. policies are things they like a lot about America. But to a somewhat lesser degree they are also more ready to affirm statements critical of America and to indicate disapproval of America on this score.

Part of the above situation is simply an expression of a greater extent of "no opinion" among the less well educated which with the net favorable index employed as a basis of comparison tends to pull both positive and negative scores toward zero (since no opinion counts as zero, i.e. neither favorable nor unfavorable in the scoring).

But even when the no opinion factor is allowed for there still remains a greater tendency on the average for the better educated to be more flexible and discriminating in their judgments -- both more favorable on occasion than the less well educated, and in specific instances less favorable.

"Now I am going to read you a few statements that have sometimes been made about the U.S. Please indicate for each statement whether or not you think it on the whole to be true about the U.S. How about...(first statement)... on the whole do you think it is true or not about the U.S.?"

Reaction of More-educated and Less-educated

If "True":
"Now I want to ask you this: Is this something you like a lot about America, dislike a lot about America, or doesn't it matter very much to you?"[1]

	Great Britain		West Germany		France		Italy	
	Secondary/ College Ed.	Primary Ed. or none	Secondary/ College Ed.	Primary Ed. or none	Secondary/ College Ed.	Primary Ed. or none	Secondary/ College Ed.	Primary Ed. or none
No. of cases	(89;97)	(409;393)	(102;106)	(508;479)	(116;105)	(506;491)	(123;112)	(410;409)
"They have contributed a great deal to other countries to help improve health and eliminate disease."	77%	68%	86%	75%	84%	55%	80%	51%
"They have given economic and financial aid to countries that need it."	68	58	87	76	62	51	73	50
"They have shared their scientific and technological progress with other countries."	42	31	70	53	39	24	71	26
"They have worked consistently and effectively for world peace."	66	49	63	48	49	28	65	35
"They are strong supporters of the U.N."	68	51	72	50	27	15	57	24
"They have taken a firm stand against Communism."	68	54	75	64	46	27	42	13
"They have helped small nations maintain their independence."	53	40	66	56	30	23	50	23
"They have tried very hard to stop the testing of atomic weapons."	20	18	36	34	15	16	50	30

[1] It will be noted that for each educational group two separate numbers of cases are given. This is because a split ballot technique was used; i.e., half of the statements were read to one half of the sample in each country; and the other half of the statements to an equivalent half of the respondents. The groups were not identical in size for the A Form and the B Form of the questionnaire, but they were so nearly so that the slight variations in size makes no significant difference in assessing reliability of differences.

"Now I am going to read you a few statements that have sometimes been made about the U.S. Please indicate for each statement whether or not you think it on the whole to be true about the U.S. How about...(first statement)...on the whole do you think it is true or not about the U.S.?"

Reaction of More-educated and Less-educated

If "True":
"Now I want to ask you this: Is this something you like a lot about America, or doesn't it matter very much to you?"

No. of cases	Great Britain Secondary/ College Ed. (89;97)	Great Britain Primary Ed. or none (409;393)	West Germany Secondary/ College Ed. (102;106)	West Germany Primary Ed. or none (508;479)	France Secondary/ College Ed. (116;105)	France Primary Ed. or none (506;491)	Italy Secondary/ College Ed. (123;112)	Italy Primary Ed. or none (410;409)
"They are too preoccupied with fighting Communism."	-7%	-9%	9%	7%	-12%	-5%	2%	-7%
"They generally appease Asian and African nations at the expense of Western European nations."	-13	-11	-8	-5	-46	-26	-4	-8
"They too often support dictatorships and unpopular governments."	-15	-14	-25	-11	-18	-18	-21	-16
"They place too much emphasis on the military in their policies and too little on the economic."	-16	-18	-12	-13	-18	-15	-17	-14
"They try to force countries to take side in the Cold War."	-29	-19	-23	-12	-31	-28	-22	-17
"Their international policies are vacillating and inconsistent."	-37	-21	-33	-18	-50	-29	-28	-10
"They haven't been willing enough to negotiate seriously with Communist countries."	-40	-28	-25	-20	-33	-20	1	-23
"They interfere in the internal affairs of other countries."	-41	-32	-41	-31	-62	-54	-34	-30

C. Some Important National Characteristics and the Nations with which they are associated

In a different method of approach, respondents were shown a series of phrases which the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. have in the past used on major propaganda themes; some in favorable application to themselves; others in derogatory application to their rival. The respondents were then asked to name the nation to which the phrase most applies. This type of open-end response indicates what "labels" have been rather firmly affixed to various nations to the extent that immediate response to the statement is semi-automatic. The four "labels" discussed here represent only a portion of the list used - that limited to the area of foreign policy and basically derogatory in tone. They are discussed in the order of increasing frequency with which the unfavorable characteristic is associated with the U.S. (It should be noted that no list of nations was given to respondents, in order to avoid any possible element of suggestiveness.)

CHARGE OF INCITER OF REVOLUTIONS FIRMLY AFFIXED TO SOVIET RUSSIA...

In response to the first of the phrases - "stirring up revolutions in other countries" - from half to two thirds of the people in the four countries name Soviet Russia.[1] Except in Italy, where a substantial proportion - mainly PCI sympathizers - name America, no other nation is mentioned by a significant number of respondents.

Stirring up revolution in other countries No. of cases	Great Britain (611)	West Germany (610)	France (624)	Italy (635)
U.S.	3%	1%	4%	15%
France	-	4	-	-
Soviet Union	63	66	50	51
Egypt	8	1	-	3
Other countries	6	1	5	2
No opinion	18	27	39	25
No country	2	-	-	1
Great Britain	-	-	-	3
U.S.A. and U.S.S.R.	-	-	2	-
	100%	100%	100%	100%

[1] It is not likely that these responses are from people who actually favor a certain amount of revolution in principle, since inspection of responses in terms of political groups indicates that Communist sympathizers generally consider the phrase pejorative and tend to name the U.S.

IMPOSITION OF OWN IDEOLOGY GENERALLY ATTRIBUTED TO RUSSIA, THOUGH ORDER OF ONE IN FIVE IN BRITAIN AND ITALY NAME U.S. ...

The label of ideological tyranny is also affixed to the Soviet - again by the order of a half to two-thirds. But in this case minorities approaching a fifth of the population in Britain and Italy volunteered the U.S. In Italy, the bulk of such respondents are Communist supporters as might be expected; but in Britain, more seriously, they are spread rather equally through all segments of the population.

Imposing own ideology on other countries

No. of cases	Great Britain (587)	West Germany (585)	France (596)	Italy (637)
U.S.	17%	3%	6%	15%
England	5	-	-	-
France	-	1	1	-
Soviet Union	55	66	56	55
Other countries	3	-	3	2
No opinion	20	30	30	28
U.S.A. and U.S.S.R.	-	-	4	-
	100%	100%	100%	100%

IMPERIALIST LABEL PINNED GENERALLY ON RUSSIA, BUT BRITAIN AND U.S. ALSO FREQUENTLY CITED ...

The charge of imperialism, one made most frequently by Russia against the U.S. and the Western European nations, still appears to have some receptivity as a derogatory label, though much of the tar appears to have gotten spread on Soviet Russia itself. In all countries the proportions naming the Soviet Union are greatest, but a substantial portion cite the U.S. and also Britain. At the moment, the term "imperialism" appears to be a label of clear value to neither side.

Imperialism

No. of cases	Great Britain (611)	West Germany (610)	France (624)	Italy (635)
U.S.	6%	11%	16%	16%
West Germany	2	*	-	-
England	15	12	-	12
France	-	3	-	4
Other West European countries	-	1	-	-
Soviet Union	20	16	19	33
China	2	-	-	-
Egypt	2	1	-	2
Other countries	3	-	13	2
No opinion	43	56	49	30
No country	7	-	-	1
U.S.A. and U.S.S.R.	-	-	3	-
	100%	100%	100%	100%

BUT THE TERM 'ECONOMIC DOMINATION' IS MOST LIKELY TO BE ATTACHED TO AMERICA...

One frequent Communist derogatory slogan appears to have been rather firmly affixed to the United States among a plurality of West Europeans. This is "domination of other countries economically" - economic imperialism, in contrast to the older variety.

In all nations, from a third to a near-half of the population name the U.S. when the phrase is mentioned. Substantially less mention Russia. Even in West Germany, with the Soviet economic exploitation of Eastern Germany close at hand, the U.S. is more often named than Russia. It is clear that this label is one of the most serious handicaps for the U.S. in Western Europe and represents a case where Russian charges have struck a responsive chord in European minds.

Domination of other countries economically

No. of cases	Great Britain (587)	West Germany (585)	France (596)	Italy (637)
U.S.	39%	34%	44%	46%
West Germany	-	1	-	-
England	4	5	-	5
France	-	1	-	-
Switzerland	-	-	-	-
Other West European countries	-	-	-	-
Soviet Union	28	22	14	13
China	-	*	-	-
Other Asiatic countries	-	*	-	-
Egypt	-	*	-	-
Other African and Near East countries	-	-	-	-
Other countries	-	*	-	-
No opinion	4	-	7	2
No country	23	37	32	34
U.S.A. and U.S.S.R.	2	-	-	*
	-	-	3	-
	100%	100%	100%	100%

AND CONCEPT OF AMERICAN ECONOMIC DOMINATION IS A SOURCE OF MUCH ANTAGONISM AMONG WELL-EDUCATED AND POORLY-EDUCATED ALIKE...

If any proof were needed that the widespread pinning of the "economic domination" label to America is a source of hostility, it can be shown in the results found when the issue is approached through another form of inquiry. Thus, from a third to over a half of the people of the countries surveyed feel that the alleged economic domination is something they particulary dislike. Except in West Germany, where the better-educated are most critical, there appears to be no real variation between education groups on the issue.

They try to dominate the economics of other countries	Great Britain	West Germany	France	Italy
No. of cases	(611)	(610)	(624)	(635)
Like a lot	2%	2%	2%	1%
Dislike a lot	36	33	58	37
Doesn't matter very much	6	7	3	3
No opinion	4	-	3	1
Per cent "True"	48%	42%	66%	42%
Net Favorable	-34	-31	-56	-36

Net Favorable Reaction of More Educated and Less Educated

"They try to dominate the economics of other countries"

	Net Favorable	No. of cases
Great Britain		
Secondary or college education	-35%	(89)
Primary education or none	-33	(409)
West Germany		
Secondary or college education	-46	(102)
Primary education or none	-28	(508)
France		
Secondary or college education	-58	(116)
Primary education or none	-56	(506)
Italy		
Secondary or college education	-35	(123)
Primary education or none	-35	(410)

[1] This theme has been a constant one in criticism of America. As early as 1952, in an international survey in five of the present NATO countries, about one in three cited "world domination" (usually in economic terms) when asked what they thought America's aims in world affairs to be. This is an unusually high degree of clustering of response for an open-end question. See Public Opinion in Western Europe, RAS HICOG, SRE: Paris, 1953. Except in France and Italy, few of the respondents making such statements were Communist sympathizers. Additional studies have indicated that this "world domination" tends to be visualized as economic in nature.

IV. The Economic Image of America

A most important aspect of the total image of America is that portion dealing with economics. We have seen already that the expansive aspects of the American economy are considered by many West Europeans as pushing toward economic domination of other nations, and that considerable negativity was associated with this belief.[1]

The present chapter examines West European stereotypes of the American economy, with attention both to its domestic and its international aspects.

A. The American Economy - Domestic Aspects

GENERAL REACTIONS TO THE AMERICAN ECONOMIC

West European opinion is predominantly favorable to the American economic system, particularly in West Germany and Italy.[2]

"From impressions you have received from any sources, would you indicate your impressions of the following aspects of life in the U.S."

The U.S. Economic System

No. of cases	Great Britain (611)	West Germany (610)	France (624)	Italy (635)
Very good opinion	7%	9%	5%	22%
Good opinion	34	44	35	38
Neither good nor bad opinion	14	16	15	9
Bad opinion	7	2	9	8
Very bad opinion	1	-	-	4
No opinion	37	29	36	19
	100%	100%	100%	100%
Net Favorable	33	51	31	48

AND THERE IS CONSIDERABLE INTEREST IN LEARNING MORE ABOUT IT...

Not only is the general reaction to the American economic system favorable, but results based on an earlier study indicate that there is considerable interest in learning more about its workings - again particularly so in West Germany and Italy.[3]

"Please use this card to tell me how interested you would be in getting more information about these areas of U.S. life - would you be very much interested, somewhat interested, or not particularly interested. How about...?"

No. of cases	Great Britain May, '57 (1232)	West Germany May, '57 (1200)	France May, '57 (1200)	Italy May, '57 (1275)
Proportion of population at least somewhat interested	29%	48%	29%	48%

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[1] In an earlier study in France conducted among a sample of better-educated respondents it was noted that acceptance of the belief that the American economy was "dynamic" was highly correlated with the belief that a chief aim of American foreign policy was economic domination of the world. Report PA-8, "Culture and Politics Studies," USIS, Paris, 1956.

[2] In an earlier study it was noted that while West European opinion reacted unfavorably in the net to the work "Capitalism", it tended to react on the plus side to American capitalism in practice - indication of a definite distinction, conscious or not, between capitalism in general and the American veriety. See report PMS-8, "West European Attitudes Related to the People's Capitalism Campaign." USIA, IRI/R, December 31, 1956.

[3] For datailed results on interest in various area of American life cited throughout the present study, see report PMS-22, "West European Interest in Various Areas of American Life."

BUSINESS IN AMERICA DRAWS WIDELY FAVORABIE REACTION, LABOR SLIGHTLY LESS SO...

Business in America draws a widely favorable reaction. Very few respondents are hostile. Even among Italian Communists, just about as many report a favorable as an unfavorable opinion of business in America.[1] It is doubtful that they would react so moderately toward "Business in Italy." The results tend to confirm earlier findings that on the European Left American business is often seen as something rather special and not subject to the standard Marxist strictures.

When it comes to labor in America, opinion in France and Italy is equally favorable or more favorable. And Italian Communists in this case display a clear preponderance of favorable reaction. But reaction toward labor in America is considerably cooler in Britain and West Germany. In Britain, this coolness is most widespread among British Manual Workers, and may conceivably be a temporary phenomenon arising from various American Labor scandals which would possibly be more widely known among British Trade Unionists than among those in the other nations.[2] Another possible explanation would be the fairly widespread knowledge that certain of the welfare elements of British society do not exist in America.

Business in the U.S.:

No. of cases	Great Britain (587)	West Germany (585)	France (596)	Italy (637)
Very good opinion	22%	16%	10%	25%
Good opinion	39	44	40	35
Neither good nor bad opinion	10	12	12	9
Bad opinion	5	4	5	6
Very bad opinion	1	-	1	2
No opinion	23	24	32	23
	100%	100%	100%	100%
Net Favorable	55	56	44	52

Labor in the U.S.:

No. of cases	(611)	(610)	(624)	(635)
Very good opinion	7%	7%	7%	31%
Good opinion	32	29	41	41
Neither good nor bad opinion	16	19	15	10
Bad opinion	11	6	3	3
Very bad opinion	1	*	-	1
No opinion	33	39	34	14
	100%	100%	100%	100%
Net Favorable	27	30	45	68

[1] Reactions of Italian Communists will be discussed separately in the final section of this report.

[2] Net favorable reaction of British manual workers is only 16 percentage points as compared to 46 percentage points among the British executive and professional group. One in five of the British manual workers have an unfavorable view of labor in the U.S.

BUT THERE IS CONSIDERABLY MORE INTEREST IN LEARNING ABOUT LABOR IN AMERICA THAN ABOUT AMERICAN BUSINESS...

In all four nations there is more interest in learning about labor in America than about business, and in France and Italy the difference in interest is very great. It is clear that the last two nations present a real receptivity to material on American Labor - high general esteem and high interest combined.[1]

"Please use this card to tell me how interested you would be in getting more information about these areas of American life, - would you be very much interested, somewhat interested, or not particularly interested? How about...?"

	Gt. Britain May '57		W. Germany May '57		France May '57		Italy May '57	
No. of cases	Business (1232)	Labor (1232)	Business (1200)	Labor (1200)	Business (1200)	Labor (1200)	Business (1269)	Labor (1269)
Proportion of population at least somewhat interested	30%	39%	43%	48%	22%	44%	28%	66%

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1 Results concerning interest in various aspects of life in America are based on a survey conducted in May, 1957. (See PMS-22, "West European Interest in Various Areas of American Life", January 10, 1958, Official Use Only.) When it comes to such a subject as interest, there is little danger of any large year-to-year variations, since most of the subjects investigated are relatively untouched by international political developments. A single exception might be science in America: it is probable that since the emergence of the Space Age there has been a general increase in interest in this area of American life, as well as its Soviet counterpart.

AMERICAN LIVING CONDITIONS HELD IN HIGH ESTEEM IN ALL FOUR COUNTRIES AND INTEREST IS HIGH IN LEARNING MORE ABOUT SUBJECT...

Among the majority of West Europeans, American living conditions are held in particularly high esteem. To this extent the centuries-old myth of the Golden Land to the West still appears to have power to move them. Even among Italian Communists, every other one expresses a favorable opinion of American living standards. Again, interest in the subject appears to be high.

Living conditions in the U.S.	Great Britain	West Germany	France	Italy
No. of cases	(587)	(585)	(590)	(637)
Very good opinion	20%	23%	13%	38%
Good opinion	42	50	45	36
Neither good nor bad opinion	18	8	14	8
Bad opinion	3	1	4	1
Very bad opinion	1	*	-	2
No opinion	16	18	24	15
	100%	100%	100%	100%
Net Favorable	58	72	54	71

"Please use this card to tell me how interested you would be in getting more information about these areas of American life - would you be very much interested, somewhat interested, or not particularly interested? How about ... Living conditions in the U.S.?"

No. of cases	Great Britain May, '57 (1232)	West Germany May, '57 (1200)	France May, '57 (1200)	Italy May, '57 (1269)
Proportion of population at least somewhat interested	58	60	50	60

THERE IS SOMEWHAT LESS FEELING THAT THE AMERICAN ECONOMIC SYSTEM BENEFITS THE MANY AND NOT JUST THE FEW...

Despite this apparent high regard for the specific workings of the American economic system, there is somewhat less (though still substantial) willingness to accept the statement that the American economic system "benefits the many and not just the few." Thus, for a certain number of respondents, there appears to be a tendency to react favorably to those specific aspects of the American economic system which should lead to the conclusion but a last-minute balking at accepting the conclusion itself. This is a fairly common phenomenon and would be particularly likely to occur among nominal Marxists supplied with many slogans which say just the opposite about the American economic system: when they are in the areas of propositions and slogans, the Marxist reflex takes over.

Acceptance of the widespread distribution of the advantages of the American system usually redounds to the credit of America. An interesting phenonemon can be noted in Italy. There, a group amounting to a tenth of the population - large for an apparent deviation of this sort - states that it accepts the statement about America and that this is something that it dislikes very much about America. Most of this group are PCI or PSI adherents. They may feel that this general American prosperity is wrung from the poor of other nations or from the fortuitous ownership of a rich endowment of natural resources; they may feel that this strengthens an enemy of Russia; they may feel that this represents a sop to the American proletarian which keeps him from being revolutionary. Whatever the rationale behind the view, emotionally they seem to be persons torn between conflicting feelings.

The economic system in the U.S. benefits the many and not just the few

	Great Britain	West Germany	France	Italy
No. of cases	(587)	(585)	(596)	(637)
Like a lot	35%	38%	28%	28%
Dislike a lot	4	2	2	9
Doesn't matter	6	1	1	1
No opinion	4	1	1	*
Per cent "True"	49%	42%	32%	38%
Net Favorable	31	36	26	19

AMERICA STILL SEEN AS THE LAND OF OPPORTUNITY...

For high proportions of West Europeans the phrase "economic opportunity" tends to bring the U.S. to mind almost automatically. In Britain, as many mention their own nation as the country to which the phrase applies, and if the Commonwealth percentages are included, the U.S. ranks only second. But in West Germany, the U.S. is far in the lead; and in France and Italy it is cited by nearly half the population - an unusually high percentage for open-end questions. It is clear that the label of opportunity remains firmly affixed to America among large reaches of the West European population.

It is clear why dedicated Italian Communists would cite Soviet Russia. Less clear is why almost as many West Germans also named the U.S.S.R.

Economic opportunity

No. of cases	Great Britain (587)	West Germany (585)	France (596)	Italy (637)
U.S.	25%	34%	45%	44%
West Germany	3	13	-	5
England	24	*	-	-
France	-	-	4	-
Switzerland	-	*	-	1
Soviet Union	3	12	-	15
China	-	1	-	-
Other Asiatic countries	-	4	-	-
Egypt	-	1	-	-
Other African and Near East countries	-	3	-	-
Other countries	3	3	18	8
No opinion	25	29	33	26
No country	1	-	-	1
Australia/New Zealand	8	-	-	-
Canada	7	-	-	-
	100%	100%	100%	100%

BUT OPINION IS LESS SURE ABOUT ECONOMIC SECURITY IN AMERICA...

In West Germany and Italy, America is most often mentioned in response to the phrase "economic security for the common people." But among the British and French, the U.S. lags far behind their own nation. Except in Italy, very few mention Soviet Russia - a serious setback to communist propaganda, since this is one of the main rationalizations of communism and its restrictions of liberty.

Economic security for the common people No. of cases	Great Britain (611)	West Germany (610)	France (624)	Italy (635)
U.S.	6%	33%	11%	37%
West Germany	-	23	-	3
England	62	1	-	2
France	-	*	33	2
Switzerland	-	1	-	3
Other West European countries	-	1	-	-
Soviet Union	7	1	5	18
Other countries	4	-	9	2
No opinion	20	40	42	29
No country	1	-	-	1
Italy	-	-	-	3
	100%	100%	100%	100%

BETTER-EDUCATED MORE FAVORABLY IMPRESSED BY ASPECTS OF AMERICAN ECONOMY...

As the following table indicates rather clearly, the better-educated elements of the population in all four nations tend to have a more favorable view of American economic life than do their less-educated countrymen. And this larger net favorable reaction in most cases represents proportionally greater adverse reaction on the part of the less-educated rather than simply a lack of opinion.

Reaction of More-educated and Less-educated

	Great Britain		West Germany		France		Italy	
	Secondary/ College Ed	Primary Ed. or none	Secondary/ College Ed	Primary Ed. or none	Secondary/ College Ed	Primary Ed. or none	Secondary/ College Ed	Primary Ed. or none
No. of cases	(89;97)	(409;393)	(102;106)	(508;479)	(116;105)	(506;491)	(123;112)	(410;409)
"From impressions you have received from any sources, would you indicate your opinion of the following aspects of life in the U.S.?" (CARD)								
The U.S. Economic System	45	31	58	30	53	27	66	38
Business in the U.S.	71	49	69	55	53	43	66	42
Labor in the U.S.	27	27	40	48	74	38	81	59
Living conditions in the U.S.	77	50	84	68	71	50	79	63
"Now I am going to read you a few statements that have sometimes been made about the U.S. Please indicate for each statement whether or not you consider it on the whole to be true about the U.S. How about... (first statement)...on the whole, do you think it is true or not about the U.S.?"								
If "True": "Now I want to ask you this: Is this something you like a lot about America, dislike a lot about America, or doesn't it matter very much to you?"								
"The economic system in the U.S. benefits the many and not just the few."	46	25	40	34	42	22	40	14

B. The American Economy - Its Effect Abroad

The economic image of America in its internal aspects is a favorable one for most Western Europeans. But perhaps more important than the European concepts of the American economy as it effects Americans are their concepts of the American economy as it touches upon their own interests.

We have already noted the widespread tendency to pin the label "economic domination of other nations" upon the United States' foreign policy. This certainly is one of the most serious psychological liabilities in the Economic Image of America. But there are additional ones.

EUROPEANS DISPLAY SOME RESENTMENT OVER U.S. RESTRICTIVE TRADE POLICIES...

A fourth of the population in Britain and Italy, close to half in France feel that the U.S. makes it hard to conduct trade. And in France, in particular, the level of resentment is considerable. Only in West Germany is this a negligible matter at present.

They make it hard for us to trade with them	Great Britain	West Germany	France	Italy
No. of cases	(587)	(585)	(596)	(637)
Like a lot	2%	1%	-%	-%
Dislike a lot	20	9	42	21
Doesn't matter very much	5	1	3	3
No opinion	1	-	1	*
Per cent "True"	28%	11%	46%	24%
Net Favorable	-18	-8	-42	-21

"BOOM-BUST" CYCLE CHARGE ACCEPTED BY SIZABLE PROPORTIONS...

Except in West Germany, the belief in the regularity of serious depressions in America is accepted by sizable proportions of the population ranging from a fourth to a third. It should be remembered that the study was conducted in late 1958, when the 1957-58 "recession" in America was still fresh in memories. However, in this instance a considerable number of those who accept the proporition do not feel that this flow in the American system is something that makes them dislike America.[1]

Their economic system regularly leads to serious depressions No. of cases	Great Britain (587)	West Germany (585)	France (596)	Italy (637)
Like a lot	1%	1%	-%	1%
Dislike a lot	21	10	26	17
Doesn't matter very much	8	3	9	5
No opinion	4	1	2	1
Per cent "True"	34%	15%	37%	24%
Net Favorable	-20	-9	-26	-16

[1] One reason for this willingness to react philosophically to periodic American depressions may lie in the belief that the respondents' own nations will not be seriously affected. In a survey conducted during the 1957-58 recession, in London, Paris, Rome/Milan, West Berlin, and other major cities, only one in five actually felt that the recession in America would have a "very bad effect" on their own nations. See report SR-9, "Public Reaction to the U.S. Recession in Major World Opinion Centers," USIA, IRI/R, June, 1958.

LITTLE OR NO DIFFERENCE FOUND BETWEEN EDUCATIONAL GROUPS ...

Rather unexpectedly, considering that the two questions cover issues as complicated as tariffs and the spread of recession, the net reactions of the better-educated and the poorly-educated generally do not differ significantly. A single exception is found in France where apparently the belief in the periodicity of serious depressions in America as a part of the American economic system is gospel to a majority of the better-educated, but to relatively few of their less educated compatriots.

Net Favorable Reaction of More-educated and Less-educated

	"They make it hard for us to trade with them"	"Their economic system regularly leads to serious depressions"	No. of cases
Great Britain			
Secondary or college education	-22%	-19%	(97)
Primary education or none	-16	-19	(393)
West Germany			
Secondary or college education	-11	-15	(106)
Primary education or none	-8	-8	(479)
France			
Secondary or college education	-45	-50	(105)
Primary education or none	-42	-19	(491)
Italy			
Secondary or college education	-16	-19	(112)
Primary education or none	-22	-16	(409)

V. The Scientific Image of America

A. Reactions to American Science

ALMOST UNIVERSALLY GOOD OPINION OF AMERICAN SCIENCE FOUND IN WESTERN EUROPE - BUT INTEREST IN LEARNING MORE ABOUT IT IS FAIRLY LOW...

With the exception of the normal proportions of persons without opinion, West Europeans almost universally react favorably to "Science in the U.S." The rating of this single facet of the image of America is among the highest. And again American science is found to be attractive even to groups normally hostile to the United States - such as Italian Communist adherents. However, in assessing this high regard for American science it should be noted realistically that in this same survey the same respondents tended to divide fairly evenly on the issue of whether the U.S. or the Soviet Union led in scientific development at the present. Britain and Italy gave the U.S. a slight net lead, in Italy it was a toss-up, and in France the load was given to Russia. The results represent an improvement over the "post-Sputnik" survey of the preceding year, when the U.S. was generally felt to be trailing, but they indicate that the favorable opinion of science in America could probably be equalled if a similar question were asked about science in Soviet Russia.

But although the rating of American science is quite high, interest in learning more about it is only moderate - far exceeded by interest in learning more about living conditions or labor of the economic system. Since the results on interest date back to May, 1957, it is possible that there has been some increase in interest since that date, hand in hand with continuing news of satellite and missile launchings.

"From impressions you have received from any sources, would you indicate your opinion of the following aspects of life in the U.S."

Science in the U.S.

	Great Britain (611)	West Germany (610)	France (624)	Italy (635)
Very good opinion	31%	24%	23%	40%
Good opinion	44	43	45	31
Neither good nor bad opinion	5	6	7	6
Bad opinion	1	1	1	1
Very bad opinion	-	-	-	*
No opinion	19	26	24	22
	100%	100%	100%	100%
Net Favorable	74	66	67	70

"Please use this card to tell me how interested you would be in getting more information about these areas of U.S. life?"

Science in the U.S.

Proportion of population at least somewhat interested	31	44	30	32

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1 See No 52, "The Impact of Sputnik on the Standing of the U.S. Versus the U.S.S.R.", and WE-57, "Current Trends in U.S. Versus Soviet Standing in Western Europe," February, 1959, Conf.

RATING OF AMERICAN SCIENCE HIGH AMONG BETTER-EDUCATED AND LESS-EDUCATED ALIKE

For the educational elite and the less-educated alike, American science is given a very high net favorable rating. And if in three nations, the less-educated give somewhat less favorable ratings, in this instance it is almost solely a matter of a larger proportion of persons with no opinion on the subject among the less-educated. In both groups, those with opinions nearly all react favorably to Science in America.

Net Favorable Reaction of Better-educated and less-educated

	"Science in the U.S."	
	Net Favorable	No. of cases
Great Britain		
Secondary or college education	79	(89)
Primary education or none	71	(409)
West Germany		
Secondary or college education	89	(102)
Primary education or none	61	(508)
France		
Secondary or college education	87	(116)
Primary education or none	62	(506)
Italy		
Secondary or college education	92	(123)
Primary education or none	61	(410)

MANY ATTACH LABEL "THE USE OF SCIENCE FOR THE GOOD OF MANKIND" TO AMERICA...

This favorable response to science in America is not purely respect for technical achievement. In two nations -- West Germany and Italy -- the United States most often comes spontaneously to mind in response to the statement "The use of science for the good of mankind." In Britain and France, the U.S. comes second after the country of the respondent. The Soviet Union is barely mentioned except in Italy, presumably by the bloc of Communist sympathizers.

The use of science for the good of mankind

No. of cases	Great Britain (587)	West Germany (585)	France (596)	Italy (637)
U.S.	12%	31%	10%	36%
West Germany	-	17	-	2
England	64	3	-	3
France	-	*	45	-
Switzerland	-	3	-	-
Other West European countries	-	1	-	-
Soviet Union	2	1	3	18
Other countries	4	-	5	2
No opinion	15	44	36	33
No country	3	-	-	2
Italy	-	-	-	4
U.S.A. and U.S.S.R.	-	-	-	-
	100%	100%	100%	100%

AND THE SLOGAN "ATOMS FOR PEACE" ALSO SEES AMERICA IN A LEADING POSITION...

A specific aspect of the use of science for the good of mankind -- "The use of atoms for peace" -- also sees America most often chosen in Germany and Italy, and running second in Britain and France after the respondents' own nations. Again, only the block of Italian Communists give Russia appreciable mention. However in assessing these rather favorable results, it should not be forgotten that when the phrase "Ending the production of nuclear weapons" is posed, the U.S. in three out of four of the nations does no better than equal Soviet Russia; and that, again, America appears to derive relatively little credit for its work in attempting to stop the testing of nuclear weapons. (See Part III-A of this report, pp. 13-14.)

"Here are some words or phrases. (CARD) What country do you think each phrase applies to most?"

The use of atoms for peace

No. of cases	Great Britain (611)	West Germany (610)	France (624)	Italy (635)
U.S.	10%	30%	15%	39%
West Germany	-	16	-	-
England	72	13	-	7
France	-	*	35	-
Switzerland	-	1	-	-
Other West European countries	-	1	-	-
Soviet Union	2	3	5	16
Other countries	-	-	5	2
No opinion	14	36	39	25
No country	2	-	-	4
U.S.A. and U.S.S.R.	-	-	1	-
Italy	-	-	-	7
	100%	100%	100%	100%

* Less than one-half of one percent.

VI. The Cultural Image of America

A. Reaction to Cultural Life in America

AMERICAN CULTURAL LIFE TAKEN AS A WHOLE GENERALLY VIEWED IN A FAVORABLE LIGHT, EXCEPT IN FRANCE ...

In three out of the four countries surveyed the cultural image of the U.S., in its most generalized sense, is predominantly favorable by a substantial margin. The extent of favorable judgments about U.S. cultural life is no less than that for France -- a country included to serve as a bench-mark because of its traditionally high reputation in matters cultural. In each country respondents rated cultural life in America somewhat below that of their own nation -- a not unexpected finding national pride being what it is -- but only in France is the U.S. cultural rating low in any absolute sense.

The cultural ratings obtained upon the generalized summary type question employed in the present connection are useful indicators but should not be taken wholly at face value. Judgments about a country's culture in such a generalized form are inevitably influenced somewhat by the level of general esteem for the country in question and hence are not to be understood as pure measures of cultural standing. More particularized judgments about specific aspects of U.S. culture, that follow are likely to be less affected by general esteem and hence can be assumed to yield purer measures of the standing of U.S. culture.

"Now, I'd like to ask you for your opinion of cultural life in various countries -- that is, art, music, literature and the like. Using this card, please give me your opinion of the cultural life of the following countries. (CARD) How about ...?"

	Great Britain		West Germany		France		Italy	
Opinion of U.S. Culture in:	Apr. '56	Oct. '58	Apr. '56	Oct. '58	Apr. '56	Oct. '58	Apr. '56	Oct. '58
No. of cases	(806)	(1198)	(863)	(1195)	(800)	(1220)	(911)	(1272)
Very good opinion	13%	9%	5%	7%	2%	2%	18%	15%
Good opinion	34	39	35	37	15	21	32	34
Neither good nor bad opin.	25	19	25	25	20	26	20	14
Bad opinion	3	9	8	5	8	12	3	6
Very bad opinion	*	1	1	1	3	2	1	2
No opinion	25	23	26	25	52	37	26	29
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Net favorable	44	38	31	38	6	9	46	41

Opinion of French Culture:								
Very good opinion		12%		8%		33%		13%
Good opinion		35		36		44		32
Neither good nor bad opin.		17		25		6		19
Bad opinion		5		5		1		3
Very bad opinion		1		*		-		1
No opinion		30		26		16		32
		100%		100%		100%		100%
Net favorable		41		39		76		41

1 "From impressions you have received from any source, would you indicate your opinion of the following aspects of life in the United States (CARD A - Very good opinion, Good opinion, Fair opinion, Bad opinion, Very bad opinion, No opinion) - How about cultural life in the U.S. -- literature, art, music and the like." The wordings appear to be comparable.

U.S. RANKS AHEAD OF SOVIET CULTURE IN WEST GERMANY AND ITALY, BUT NOT IN FRANCE OR GREAT BRITAIN ...

Comparison of the net favorable rating for Soviet culture with that of America preceding indicates that the U.S. ranks well ahead in West Germany and Italy but not in France and Great Britain. In France the U.S. is neck and neck with the U.S.S.R. with neither's cultural level eliciting much better than divided reactions. In Britain the situation is somewhat different. It is not that the standing of U.S. culture is particularly low, but that the standing of Soviet culture is particularly high in such wise that it is not reliably lower than that of the U.S., and perhaps on a more refined measure it would be ahead. The reader should appreciate that judgments about Soviet culture in Great Britain are being made in a context of relatively low esteem for Russia as a country which, as has been explained, could have a deflationary effect. Judgments about U.S. culture, in contrast, are being made in a context of relatively high esteem which could have an inflationary effect. In consequence judgments of U.S. vs. U.S.S.R. culture standing, if freed of general esteem considerations, could easily reveal the Soviets ahead on the basis of present indications.

Opinion of Russian Culture in:	Great Britain Oct. '58	West Germany Oct. '58	France Oct. '58	Italy Oct. '58
No. of cases	(1198)	(1195)	(1220)	(1272)
Very good opinion	11%	3%	3%	11%
Good opinion	32	18	17	23
Neither good nor bad opinion	13	24	24	16
Bad opinion	8	20	10	11
Very bad opinion	3	5	2	5
No opinion	33	30	44	34
	100%	100%	100%	100%
Net favorable	32	-4	8	18

	Opinion of British Culture in G. Britain	Opinion of German Culture in W. Germany	Opinion of Italian Culture in Italy
Very good opinion	33%	19%	18%
Good opinion	47	53	41
Neither good nor bad opin.	9	12	16
Bad opinion	1	1	3
Very bad opinion	*	-	2
No opinion	10	15	20
	100%	100%	100%
Net favorable	79	71	54

BETTER EDUCATED NO LESS FAVORABLE TO U.S. CULTURE, BUT EXCEPT IN ITALY TEND TO RATE IT BELOW CULTURE OF FRENCH ...

When some of the preceding findings on judgments of U.S. culture as a whole are compared by educational status, it becomes apparent first that the opinions of the better educated do not differ substantially from those of the lesser educated, except in Italy where the better educated are considerably more favorable.

Secondly, it appears that contrary to the fairly neck and neck situation for general public opinion in these countries, the better educated in Great Britain and West Germany evaluate French culture much more favorably that that of the U.S. In France, as might be expected if no more than from national pride, both the better and the less well educated view French culture far more favorably than cultural life in the U.S.

Net Favorable Reaction of More Educated and Less Educated to General Cultural Life in the U.S.

	Net Favorable U.S.	Net Favorable France	No. of cases
Great Britain:			
Secondary or college education	30	66	(186)
Primary education of none	38	34	(802)
West Germany:			
Secondary or college education	44	69	(208)
Primary education or none	38	33	(987)
France:			
Secondary or college education	7	88	(221)
Primary education or none	11	73	(999)
Italy:			
Secondary or college education	64	62	(235)
Primary education or none	31	33	(819)

AMONG SPECIFIC ASPECTS OF U.S. CULTURE STUDIED LITERATURE AND ARCHITECTURE RANK ABOVE ART AND MUSIC ...

Except in France we have seen that evaluations of U.S. culture, taken as a whole, are generally favorable. But on more particularized inquires about specific aspects of U.S. culture the extent of favorable opinion is considerably less. One probable reason for this has already been mentioned, that a generalized question about America's cultural standing is likely to be influenced to a much greater degree than specific questions by a relatively higher level of general esteem for the U.S. as a country. Another reason has to do with the factor of "no opinion." This tends to be more frequent upon specific questions about U.S. culture than on the overall general question, and in consequence lowers the "net favorable" score employed as an index of comparison.

Of the four specific elements of U.S. culture rated below, literature and architecture appear to rank above art and music, and among the countries studied evaluations in France are particularly low.

"From impressions you have received from any sources, would you indicate your opinion of the following aspects of life in the U.S."

Literature in the U.S.:	Great Britain	West Germany	France	Italy
No. of cases	(611)	(610)	(624)	(635)
Very good opinion	4%	4%	-%	9%
Good opinion	24	25	13	24
Neither good nor bad opinion	16	18	19	17
Bad opinion	10	3	11	3
Very bad opinion	1	*	2	1
No opinion	45	50	55	46
	100%	100%	100%	100%
Net Favorable	17	26	0	29
Architecture in the U.S.:				
No. of cases	(587)	(585)	(596)	(637)
Very good opinion	10%	7%	1%	12%
Good opinion	26	23	15	18
Neither good nor bad opinion	16	16	15	11
Bad opinion	6	4	17	2
Very bad opinion	2	*	4	2
No opinion	40	50	48	55
	100%	100%	100%	100%
Net Favorable	28	26	-5	26
Art in the U.S.:				
No. of cases	(611)	(610)	(624)	(635)
Very good opinion	3%	3%	1%	5%
Good opinion	21	18	10	22
Neither good nor bad	18	22	23	22
Bad opinion	7	7	13	6
Very bad opinion	1	*	2	2
No opinion	50	50	51	43
No opinion	100%	100%	100%	100%
Net Favorable	16	14	-4	19
Music in the U.S.:				
No. of cases	(587)	(585)	(596)	(637)
Very good opinion	8%	4%	2%	11%
Good opinion	26	19	15	21
Neither good nor bad opinion	20	20	17	20
Bad opinion	15	19	21	9
Very bad opinion	2	4	5	7
No opinion	29	34	40	32
	100%	100%	100%	100%
Net Favorable	17	0	-9	16

ON SPECIFIC ASPECTS OF U.S. CULTURE, EDUCATIONAL TREND FAVORABLE IN ITALY AND WEST GERMANY, BUT MIXED ELSEWHERE. . .

On the more specific inquiries about the status of U.S. culture the influence of educational level upon judgments is not the same in the four countries studied. The better educated tend to be more favorable than the less well schooled in Italy and West Germany, but in France and Great Britain the trends are somewhat mixed with, if anything, a leaning in the opposite direction.

"From impressions you have received from any sources, would you indicate your opinion of the following aspects of life in the U.S."

Net Favorable Opinion of More-Educated and Less-Educated

	Great Britain		West Germany	
No. of cases	Secondary/ college Ed. (89;97)	Primary Ed. or none (409;393)	Secondary/ College Ed. (102;106)	Primary Ed. or none (508;479)
Art in the U.S.	8	18	16	13
Literature in the U.S.	6	19	52	20
Architecture in the U.S.	27	16	32	25
Music in the U.S.	24	28	-	-1

	France		Italy	
No. of cases	Secondary/ College Ed. (116;105)	Primary Ed. or none (506;491)	Secondary/ College Ed. (123;112)	Primary Ed. or none (410;409)
Art in the U.S.	-29	-1	21	14
Literature in the U.S.	-7	3	49	21
Architecture in the U.S.	-1	-5	37	19
Music in the U.S.	4	-12	24	10

AMONG DIFFERENT ASPECTS OF AMERICAN CULTURE RATED INTEREST TENDS TO BE HIGHER IN LITERATURE AND MUSIC...

Allied to rating of the four aspects of culture in America is interest of the respondents in learning more about them. In West Germany and France, the amount of interest does not vary significantly among the four subjects for the total population. But in Britain and Italy, literature and music in America appear to have considerably more interest for respondents than art and architecture. In Britain the difference is particularly notable.

In all nations, interest is particularly high among the better-educated, generally exceeding their absolute favorable ratings of the individual item. Some of this greater interest may conceivably have to be discounted as a status-preserving answer. But even so, there is indication that among the better-educated, even when the individual may not have a favorable opinion of American culture, the line of communication is sometimes still open.

Net Favorable Reaction of More Educated and Less Educated

"Please use this card to tell me how interested you would be in getting more information about these areas of American life - would you be very much interested, somewhat interested or not particularly interested?"

Per cent at least somewhat interested in:	Literature	Music	Architecture	Art	No. of cases
Great Britain					
Secondary or college Ed.	46%	45%	23%	32%	(187)
Primary education or none	20	27	13	9	(847)
Total	26	32	16	15	(1232)
West Germany					
Secondary or college Ed.	63	41	46	49	(213)
Primary education or none	23	21	21	22	(987)
Total	29	25	26	26	(1200)
France					
Secondary or college Ed.	38	27	28	34	(222)
Primary education or none	14	15	11	11	(978)
Total	19	17	14	16	(1200)
Italy					
Secondary or college Ed.	62	54	36	45	(245)
Primary education or none	12	17	8	11	(816)
Total	27	27	16	11	(1269)

VII. The Educational Image of America

A. Reaction to Education in America

EDUCATION IN AMERICA RATED FAVORABLY THROUGHOUT WESTERN EUROPE ...

Education in the U.S. appears to attract considerable favorable reaction among the general populations of the four nations, with France trailing slightly behind the general level but still positive. No more than one in ten in any country express critical views.

"From impressions you have received from any sources, would you indicate your opinion of the following aspects of life in the United States." (CARD)

Education in the U.S.:	Great Britain	West Germany	France	Italy
No. of cases	(611)	(610)	(624)	(635)
Very good opinion	17%	11%	5%	23%
Good opinion	38	31	33	36
Neither good nor bad opinion	16	17	18	15
Bad opinion	8	4	7	2
Very bad opinion	1	*	1	*
No opinion	20	37	36	24
	100%	100%	100%	100%
Net Favorable	46	38	30	57

AND BETTER EDUCATED RESPONDENTS GENERALLY MORE FAVORABLE THAN RANK AND FILE OF POPULATION...

Those most competent to judge and those generally exerting the greatest influence on the educational systems of their own nations are most favorable in their view of American education. With the notable exception of Britain, the better-educated respondents tend to give more favorable net ratings than those with elementary education or none; and the difference cannot be accounted for solely in terms of more "don't know" responses among the less educated group.

Net Favorable Reaction of More-educated and Less-educated

"From impressions you have received from any sources would you indicate your opinion of the following aspects of life in the U.S."

	Education in the U.S.	
	Net Favorable	No. of cases
Great Britain		
Secondary or college education	31	(89)
Primary education or none	48	(409)
West Germany		
Secondary or college education	57	(102)
Primary education or none	33	(508)
France		
Secondary or college education	37	(116)
Primary education or none	29	(506)
Italy		
Secondary or college education	67	(123)
Primary education or none	51	(410)

INTEREST IN LEARNING MORE ABOUT AMERICAN EDUCATION ALSO FOUND TO BE HIGH...PARTICULARLY SO AMONG BETTER-EDUCATED...

Just as the better-educated display the more favorable opinions of American education, so also is their interest in learning more about the subject particularly high. And even in Britain - the one exception to the rule in rating American education - interest is very high among the top educational group.

Net Favorable Reaction of More-educated and Less-educated

"Please use this card to tell me how interested you would be in getting more information about these areas of American life - would you be very interested, somewhat interested, or not particularly interested?"

Education in the U.S.

	Per cent at least somewhat interested	No. of cases
Great Britain		
Secondary or college education	31	(187)
Primary education or none	58	(847)
Total population	37	(1232)
West Germany		
Secondary or college education	38	(213)
Primary education or none	65	(987)
Total population	43	(1200
France		
Secondary or college education	19	(222)
Primary education or none	43	(978)
Total population	24	(1200)
Italy		
Secondary or college education	28	(245)
Primary education or none	68	(816)
Total population	39	(1269)

BUT AMERICAN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM - WHETHER GENERAL OR HIGHER - NOT RATED BEST BY ANY NATION ...

For most respondents, the best system of education is believed to exist in their own country, understandably enough. In all four nations, the United States runs second, usually neck and neck with Soviet Russia. This does not mean that the U.S. and Russia are seen as on a par: it is possible that in a direct comparison, with other nations excluded, the U.S. would be usually ranked higher. What it does mean is that in all nations but Britain there are as many partisans of the Russian educational system as there are of the American educational system.

"In which one of the countries listed on this card do you think the average person can get the best education?"

"In which one of the countries listed on this card do you think the best system of higher education is provided?"

	Great Britain		West Germany		France		Italy	
No. of cases	Average (611)	Higher (587)	Average (610)	Higher (585)	Average (624)	Higher (596)	Average (635)	Higher (637)
Great Britain	75%	56%	9%	8%	4%	4%	7%	7%
West Germany	2	2	41	36	4	4	9	8
Soviet Union	3	7	9	11	4	4	15	14
United States	12	17	12	12	4	4	15	11
France	1	1	*	*	72	49	*	*
Italy	*	*	*	-	*	1	18	16
No opinion	9	19	29	33	12	34	36	44
	102%[1]	102%[1]	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

NO CLEAR PATTERN APPEARS IN REASONS FOR CHOOSING THE UNITED STATES OR USSR...

The reasons given for choosing the U.S. or the U.S.S.R. as having the best educational systems are generally too few to present in terms of percentages and are scattered so widely that no clear pattern appears. The reasons given for choosing the U.S. or Soviet Russia, can be summarized as follows, nation by nation.

Great Britain: behind the choice of the U.S., both for education for the average person and for higher education, there is some tendency to stress the higher proportion of students getting a higher level of education than in England, the longer schooling and the greater facilities which make this possible. In the case of Russia, so few persons choose that nation that no pattern of any kind can be observed.

West Germany: here respondents either stress the American physical facilities and financial support or the fact that more people get larger amounts of education. Those who mention Soviet Russia also stress similar aspects - generous state support and aid to the talented.

France: so few mention any nation but France that no pattern of reasons can be noted.

Italy: up-to-date methods and facilities are most often cited as reasons for choosing the U.S. as leading in either type of education. In the case of Soviet Russia, what is stressed is the opportunity of everyone to get a decent education - a point rarely mentioned about American education in Italy, but primary in Britain and West Germany.

1. Totals add to more than 100 per cent as some respondents gave more than one answer.

VIII. The Social Image of America

The material in this section covers several aspects of American life which can be conveniently grouped together under the title "The Social Image of American." The different parts include: domestic politics; class differences; race relations; religion; the family.

A. Politics in America

AMERICAN DOMESTIC POLITICS ARE RATED FAIRLY FAVORABLY...

As was seen in Section I of this report of individual freedom - which was most often mentioned as a bond with Western Europe. Thus it is not surprising that the day-to-day workings of this system, politics in America", draws a fairly favorable rating among various aspects of American life. And results from an earlier study also indicate a moderate interest among West Europeans in learning more about this aspect of life in America. Thus the European conception of American internal politics appears to combine moderate approval and interest in knowing more.

"From impressions you have received from any sources, would you indicate your opinion of the following aspects of life in the United States."
(CARD: Politics in the U.S.?")

No. of cases	Great Britain (587)	West Germany (585)	France (596)	Italy (637)
Very good opinion				
Good opinion				
Neither good nor bad opinion	25	23	22	12
Bad opinion	15	5	10	11
Very bad opinion	3	1	1	5
No opinion	30	30	46	23
	100%	100%	100%	100%
Net Favorable	9	35	10	27

"Please use this card to tell me how interested you would be in getting more information about these areas of U.S. life would you be very much interested, somewhat interested, or not particularly interested. How about politics in the U.S.?

No. of cases	Great Britain May, '57 (1232)	Germany May, '57 (1200)	France May, '57 (1200)	Italy May, '57 (1269)
Proportion of population at least somewhat interested	27	42	21	38

BETTER-EDUCATED IN BRITAIN TEND TO NEGATIVITY TOWARD AMERICAN POLITICS . . .

In Britain there is a definite contrast of opinion toward politics in America between the better-educated and the poorly-educated, with the educational elite taking a considerably less favorable view in the net, possibly even a negative view. In Italy, the only other nation where a variation was found, it is the poorly-educated group, with its rather larger proportion of PCI sympathizers, which is considerably less favorably inclined.

Net Favorable Reaction of More educated and Less educated

"From impressions you have received from any sources, would you indicate your opinion of the following aspects of life in the U.S."

Politics in the U.S.

	Net Favorable	No. of Cases
Great Britain		
Secondary or college education	-2	(97)
Primary education or none	13	(393)
West Germany		
Secondary or college education	43	(106)
Primary education or none	37	(479)
France		
Secondary or college education	15	(105)
Primary education or none	10	(491)
Italy		
Secondary or college education	43	(112)
Primary education or none	16	(409)

B. The Class Structure in America vs. Russia

The "classless society" has traditionally been one of the proudest slogans of Soviet Russia and of world communism. De-emphasized from time to time, it none the less appears to be a perennial claim to support of the workingman. And this "classlessness" is often contrasted with a grim picture of the U.S.

How widely is some version of this claim accepted in Western Europe? Where do people feel class differences are wider - in Russia or the U.S.?

OPINION SPLITS OVER WHETHER U.S. OR U.S.S.R. HAS WIDER CLASS DIFFERENCES . . .

In Britain and Italy (particularly the former) the weight of opinion is that class differences are wider in the U.S. than in Soviet Russia. In West Germany, opinion is evenly divided. Only in France, generally least favorably inclined to the U.S. does the weight of opinion feel that Russia has the wider class differences.[1]

"Comparing the U.S. and the Soviet Union, which country do you think has the widest class difference?"

No. of cases	Great Britain (587)	West Germany (585)	France (596)	Italy (637)
Soviet Union	24%	34%	34%	25%
United States	52	33	24	34
Both equal (Vol.)	6	10	10	15
No opinion	18	23	32	26
	100%	100%	100%	100%
Net saying Soviet Union has widest class difference	-28	+1	+10	-9

---

1 It cannot be assumed that in all cases persons saying class differences are wider in America are taking a critical tone. Among a certain number of European ultra-conservatives, wide class differences would be regarded as desirable.

BETTER-EDUCATED GENERALLY MOST LIKELY TO FEEL CLASS DIFFERENCES IN SOVIET UNION WIDER THAN THOSE IN UNITED STATES . . .

In three nations out of four, the better-educated and more influential are considerably more likely than the less-educated to feel that the Soviet Union, far from being a classless society, has wider class differences than the capitalistic United States. The contrast is particularly striking in Britain. In West Germany, however, the two groups both divide rather evenly on the issue, with the better-educated perhaps tending to feel that class differences are wider in America than in Russia.[1]

"Comparing the U.S. and the Soviet Union, which country do you think has the widest class differences?"

Reaction of More-Educated and Less-Educated

	Great Britain		West Germany	
	Secondary or college education	Primary education or none	Secondary or college education	Primary education or none
No. of cases	(97)	(393)	(106)	(479)
Soviet Union	44%	18%	36%	34%
U.S.	39	55	42	33
Both equal (Vol.)	7	6	12	10
No opinion	10	21	10	23
	100%	100%	100%	100%
Net "Soviet Union has widest class difference"	5	-37	-6	1

	France		Italy	
	Secondary or college education	Primary education or none	Secondary or college education	Primary education or none
No. of cases	(105)	(491)	(112)	(409)
Soviet Union	57%	29%	38%	19%
U.S.	25	25	32	35
Both equal (Vol.)	6	10	18	14
No opinion	12	36	12	32
	100%	100%	100%	100%
Net "Soviet Union has widest class difference"	32	4	6	-16

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[1] In this instance it might seem that the obvious group comparisons would be by socio-economic class. However, actual examination of the differences of reaction by class indicates that variations there are less sharp than in the comparisons by education.

C. Race Relations in America

TREATMENT OF NEGROES IN AMERICA CONTINUES TO DRAW OVERWHELMINGLY UNFAVORABLE REACTION, AND TREND APPEARS TO BE WORSENING...

Concerning one aspect of American life - treatment of Negroes - reaction is negative in all countries. In two countries - West Germany and France - already unfavorable opinions in the Spring of 1956 have worsened steadily since that date.

"From impressions you have received from any sources, would you tell me your opinion of the treatment of Negroes in the U.S.

	Great Britain			West Germany			France			Italy		
	Apr. '56	Nov. '57	Oct. '58	Apr. '56	Nov. '57	Oct. '58	Apr. '56	Nov. '57	Oct. '58	Apr. '56	Nov. '57	Oct. '58
No. of cases	(806)	(800)	(1198)	(863)	(813)	(610)	(800)	(802)	(1218)	(911)	(807)	(1272)
Very good opinion	*%	1%	1%	*%	1%	1%	-%	-%	-%	2%	2%	1%
Good opinion	2	4	6	8	9	5	2	2	2	9	10	11
Fair opinion	16	20	12	18	13	16	10	5	7	16	18	16
Bad opinion	31	36	34	27	37	43	25	31	32	18	22	23
Very bad opinion	34	30	31	16	16	16	31	34	40	21	12	16
No opinion	17	9	16	31	24	19	32	28	19	34	36	33
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Net Favorable	-63	-61	-58	-35	-43	-53	-54	-63	-70	-28	-22	-27

UNFAVORABLE REACTIONS SHARED BY BETTER-EDUCATED GROUPS...

Hostile reactions toward treatment of Negroes in America would be less serious if they were widespread among the least-informed and least-influential portions of the population, with the elite elements more sympathetic.

Unfortunately, this is by no means the case: in two nations, the better-educated do not differ from the poorly educated in this respect; and in France they react even more negatively. Only in Britain are the better educated less unfavorable.

Net Favorable Reaction of More educated and Less Educated

"From impressions you have received from any sources would you tell me what is the treatment of Negroes in the U.S - very good treatment, good treatment, neither good nor bad treatment, bad treatment, or very bad treatment?"

	Net Favorable	No. of Cases
Great Britain		
Secondary or college education	-48	(186)
Primary education or none	-60	(802)
West Germany		
Secondary or college education	-50	(208)
Primary education or none	-50	(987)
France		
Secondary or college education	-83	(222)
Primary education or none	-68	(996)
Italy		
Secondary or college education	-29	(235)
Primary education or none	-26	(819)

BELIEF IN IMPROVEMENT IN STATUS OF NEGRO HAS DROPPED SHARPLY...

In the fall of 1957, the prevailing unfavorable view of the treatment of Negroes in America was modified considerably by the underlying current of belief that improvement was being made, that the trend was upward. In the year since that date - a year filled with "massive resistance" and similar phenomena - much of this favorable sentiment dropped away, and in three nations those who think things are improving are now offset by those who think things are getting worse. Moreover, if we add to the pesimistic groups those who merely think there is no change for the better, the results swing completely over to the adverse side.

"Do you think that, on balance, Negroes in the U.S. have drawn closer to or further away from equality with Whites over the past ten years?"

	Great Britain		West Germany		France		Italy	
	Nov. '57	Oct. '58	Nov. '57	Oct. '58	Nov. '57	Oct. '58	Nov. '57	Oct. '58
No. of cases	(800)	(587)	(813)	(585)	(802)	(596)	(807)	(637)
Closer to equality	54%	38%	41%	28%	23%	23%	35%	27%
Further from equality	14	36	8	26	12	21	6	13
No change (Volunteered)	14	9	22	22	21	25	20	17
No opinion	18	17	29	24	44	31	39	43
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Net Favorable (Closer minus further)	40	2	33	2	11	2	29	14

BUT BETTER-EDUCATED MORE LIKELY TO SEE IMPROVEMENT...

It is only among the better-educated that there is still a predominant feeling that, whatever existing conditions, the trend is toward improvement. In all four countries, the better-educated are substantially more likely than the less educated to feel that there has been progress over the past ten years. The findings are particularly apt to indicate an unfavorable opinion of the treatment of the Negro in America.

Net Favorable Reaction of More Educated and Less Educated

"Do you think that, on balance, Negroes in the U.S. have drawn closer to or further away from equality with whites over the past ten years?"

	Net "closer to equality"	No. of cases
Great Britain		
Secondary or college education	24	(87)
Primary education or none	0	(393)
West Germany		
Secondary or college education	27	(106)
Primary education or none	-3	(479)
France		
Secondary or college education	21	(405)
Primary education or none	-2	(491)
Italy		
Secondary or college education	26	(112)
Primary education or none	12	(409)

AND FEW EVEN GIVE U.S. CREDIT FOR PROGRESS IN PROBLEM...

When the issue is posted in terms of "real" improvement in problems of race relations in America, even fewer - no more than the order of a fourth and generally less - give the U.S. credit for making any progress in the area. However, small though this group is, it is still considerably larger than those who report a favorable opinion of the treatment of Negroes.

"They have made real progress in solving race relations problems in their own country."

No. of cases	Great Britain (587)	West Germany (585)	France (596)	Italy (637)
Like a lot	13%	11%	11%	18%
Dislike a lot	2	3	1	2
Doesn't matter very much	2	4	1	3
No opinion	2	*	-	2
Per cent "True"	19%	18%	13%	25%
Net favorable	11	8	10	16

BETTER-EDUCATED GENERALLY NOT MORE LIKELY THAN LESS-EDUCATED TO GIVE U.S. CREDIT FOR "REAL PROGRESS"...

Although the better-educated are more likely than the less-educated to see some improvement in the status of the Negro in the past ten years, when it comes to a sharper version of the issue - whether the U.S. has "made real progress in solving race relations problems" - there is generally no such tendency for the educational elite to take a more favorable view. The single exception is Italy. Thus the findings on the preceding question should be modified to this extent: while the better-educated are more likely to see some improvement, they are frequently not willing to go so far as to call it "real progress."

Reaction to more-educated and less-educated

	Great Britain		West Germany	
	Secondary/ College ed. (89)	Primary Ed. or none (409)	Secondary/ College ed. (102)	Primary ed. or none (508)
"They have made real progress in solving race relations problem in their own country."				
Like very much	12	14	9	11
Dislike very much	1	3	5	2
Doesn't make much difference	3	1	(4	(4
No opinion	1	2	(4	(
Total ascribing to Americans	17	20	18	17
Net favorable	11	11	4	9

	France		Italy	
	Secondary/ College ed. (116)	Primary Ed. or none (506)	Secondary/ College ed. (123)	Primary Ed. or none (410)
Like very much	15	10	28	14
Dislike very much	-	1	2	2
Doesn't make much difference	1	1	5	3
No opinion	1	-	2	1
Total ascribing to Americans	17	12	37	20
Net favorable	15	9	26	12

OPINIONS REGARDING TREATMENT OF NEGROES FORMED IN WIDESPREAD AREA OF IGNORANCE . . .

This decided West European reaction to treatment of Negroes in America does not appear to be based on a high level of information. In a single information question, most West Europeans had no idea at all what proportion of the American population was Negro. All told, only the order of 15 per cent gave the correct answer of one-tenth.

Nor do the best-educated respondents do as much better as might be expected. In West Germany and France, the order of one in four are correct; in Italy and Britain, one in five.

"Do you think that Negroes in America represent about one-quarter, one-tenth, one-twentieth, one-fiftieth or one-hundredth of the total population?"

No. of cases	Great Britain (1198)	West Germany (1195)	France (1218)	Italy (1272)
One-quarter	16%	16%	11%	6%
One-tenth	14	14	14	11
One-twentieth	8	13	8	8
One-fiftieth	5	5	3	7
One-hundredth	4	3	3	3
No opinion	53	49	61	65
	100%	100%	100%	100%

· Comparison of More-educated and Less-educated

"Do you think that Negroes in America represent about one-quarter, one-tenth, one-twentieth, one-fiftieth or one-hundredth of the total population?"

	Correct	Incorrect	No opinion	No. of Cases
Great Britain				
Secondary or college education	19%	39%	42%	(186)
Primary education or none	12	31	57	(802)
West Germany				
Secondary or college education	28	43	29	(208)
Primary education or none	12	35	53	(987)
France				
Secondary or college education	28	37	35	(222)
Primary education or none	10	23	67	(996)
Italy				
Secondary or college education	22	37	41	(235)
Primary education or none	7	21	72	(819)

THOSE FACTUALLY INFORMED ABOUT NEGRO IN AMERICA HAVE LOWER OPINION OF PRESENT TREATMENT BUT GREATER BELIEF IN IMPROVING TREND ...

The knowledge of what proportion of the American population is made up of Negroes is a good measurement of information in the area, since this knowledge appears to be the sort of encyclopedic fact that mainly the well-informed would be likely to know. From that standpoint, those who can cite the correct proportion - about 10 per cent - can in most cases be considered to be better informed in the whole area of Negro-white relations than those who cannot.

Comparison of the opinions of the "informed" and the "uninformed" groups indicates a very important difference in reaction: except in Britain, the informed - generally the more influential elements in the population - are less favorable in their rating of the present treatment of the Negro in America; but they are also more likely to see a consistent improvement in the status of the Negro over the past ten years.

"From impressions you have received from any source, would you tell me what is the treatment of Negroes in the U.S.?"

	Great Britain		West Germany		France		Italy	
	Informed	Uninformed	Informed	Uninformed	Informed	Uninformed	Informed	Uninformed
No. of cases	(161)	(1037)	(94)	(491)	(164)	(1054)	(140)	(1132)
Very good treatment	1%	1%	-%	1%	-%	*%	2%	1%
Good	9	6	5	6	2	2	11	11
Neither good nor bad	12	12	27	15	6	7	24	15
Bad	41	33	52	40	40	31	38	21
Very bad	28	31	10	12	48	39	22	15
No opinion	9	17	6	26	4	21	3	37
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Net Favorable	-59	-57	-57	-45	-86	-68	-47	-24

"Do you think that, on balance, Negroes in the U.S. have drawn closer to or further away from equality with whites over the past ten years?"

	Great Britain		West Germany		France		Italy	
	Informed	Uninformed	Informed	Uninformed	Informed	Uninformed	Informed	Uninformed
No. of cases	(85)	(502)	(94)	(491)	(82)	(514)	(64)	(578)
Closer to equality	47%	37%	45%	25%	43%	20%	38%	27%
Further away	37	35	27	26	22	20	16	13
No change (Vol.)	8	9	23	22	29	24	34	15
No opinion	8	19	5	27	6	36	12	45
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Net Favorable	10	2	18	-1	21	0	22	14

INTEREST IN LEARNING MORE ABOUT NEGRO IN AMERICA PARTICULARLY HIGH AMONG BETTER-EDUCATED ELEMENTS OF POPULATION...

Interest in learning more about the Negro in America is particularly high among the better-educated in all nations, rising to two-thirds in Britain, West Germany and France. These groups are just as critical as the mass of the population (in France and Britain more so) when it comes to reaction to treatment of the Negro in America. Nevertheless, these influential groups indicate a great degree of interest in the issue of the Negro, more so than in most other areas of life in America. In one respect this represents an obvious danger to any information efforts in this direction: a key group is particularly interested in learning more about an aspect of life in America to which it has a particularly unfavorable reaction. But the situation also represents an opportunity - in the indication that the bulk of these better-educated respondents are still receptive to information on the problem which potentially can modify their views.

Net Interest of More-Educated and Less-Ecucated

"Please use this card to tell me how interested you would be in getting more information about these areas of American life - would you be very much interested, somewhat interested, or not particularly interested?"

The Negro in America

	Percentage at least Somewhat interested	No. of Cases
Great Britain		
Secondary or college education	69	(187)
Primary education or none	46	(847)
Total population	52	(1232)
West Germany		
Secondary or college education	67	(213)
Primary education or none	32	(987)
Total population	39	(1200)
France		
Secondary or college education	68	(222)
Primary education or none	33	(978)
Total population	39	(1200)
Italy		
Secondary or college education	46	(245)
Primary education or none	17	(816)
Total population	27	(1269)

D. Family Life in America

THE FOUR NATIONS SPLIT SHARPLY IN THEIR OPINIONS OF FAMILY LIFE IN AMERICA...

Predominately favorable reactions in Britain and West Germany, barely favorable in France, actually negative in Italy - these are the widely-differing views of the American family.

"From impressions you have received from any sources, would you indicate your opinion of the following aspects of life in the U.S."

No. of cases	Great Britain (587)	West Germany (585)	France (596)	Italy (637)
Family life in the U.S.:				
Very good opinion	15%	11%	3%	11%
Good opinion	43	34	22	19
Neither good nor bad opinion	14	18	21	19
Bad opinion	9	9	15	25
Very bad opinion	1	1	1	9
No opinion	18	27	38	17
	100%	100%	100%	100%
Net favorable	48	35	9	-4

BETTER-EDUCATED TEND TOWARD ACCENTUATION OF PREVAILING NATIONAL VIEW; MORE FAVORABLE THAN AVERAGE IN BRITAIN; MORE CRITICAL IN FRANCE AND ITALY...

The reaction of better-educated respondents appears to represent an accentuation of the prevailing point of view in the four nations. Thus, in favorable Britain those with better education are more favorable toward family life in America than those with merely primary education. In France and Italy, in contrast, the better-educated are more critical. (In West Germany, the two groups do not differ.) If, as is occasionally assumed, the beliefs and attitudes of the elites gradually filter downward to the rest of the nation, and if they do not change, there is reason to expect a slow improvement in Britain and a slow decline in France and Italy.

Net Favorable Reaction of More-Educated and Less-Educated

"From impressions you have received from any sources, would you indicate your opinion of the following aspects of life in the U.S."

Family Life in the U.S.:

	Net Favorable	No. of Cases
Great Britain		
Secondary or college education	59	(97)
Primary education or none	43	(393)
West Germany		
Secondary or college education	29	(106)
Primary education or none	27	(479)
France		
Secondary or college education	2	(105)
Primary education or none	13	(491)
Italy		
Secondary or college education	-19	(112)
Primary education or none	- 1	(409)

INTEREST IN LEARNING MORE ABOUT AMERICAN FAMILY WIDESPREAD, PARTICULARLY AMONG BETTER-EDUCATED...

A desire to learn more about family life in America is widespread in each nation, and particularly so among the better-educated - even when, as in France and Italy, that group is particularly apt to have a low opinion of the American family. As in the case of the Negro in America, the finding, in two nations at least, represents a potential danger in any information program but also a real opportunity.

"Please use this card to tell me how interested you would be in getting more information about these aspects of American life - very much interested, somewhat interested, or not particularly interested?"

Family Life in America

	Percentage at least somewhat interested	No. of Cases
Great Britain		
Secondary or college education	64%	(187)
Primary education or none	47	(847)
Total population	51	(1232)
West Germany		
Secondary or college education	68	(213)
Primary education or none	51	(987)
Total population	54	(1200)
France		
Secondary or college education	52	(222)
Primary education or none	34	(978)
Total population	37	(1200)
Italy		
Secondary or college education	63	(1245)
Primary education or none	51	(816)
Total population	54	(1269)

FAIRLY FAVORABLE OPINION FOUND OF WOMEN'S ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES...

The role of women in American life does not appear to give rise to unfavorable reaction; but neither does there appear to be widespread enthusiasm. Opinion in Britain and Italy is fairly favorable; in West Germany and France considerably less so. On a further query, while about half the population (except in France) agree that "women in America play a particularly useful role in public affairs," only about one in four state, that this is something they like a lot about America. In Italy, a significant proportion the order of one in ten - actually cite this as something they dislike a lot about America. In general, with the possible exception of Italy, the better-educated are no more favorably impressed than the poorly-educated.

"From impressions you have received from any sources, would you indicate your opinion of the following aspects of life in the U.S."

Women's Activities in the U.S.

Women's Activities in the U.S.	Great Britain	West Germany	France	Italy
No. of cases	(610)	(610)	(624)	(635)
Very good opinion	15%	6%	3%	14%
Good opinion	25	22	17	32
Neither good nor bad opinion	11	20	13	15
Bad opinion	4	9	8	7
Very bad opinion	2	1	1	3
No opinion	43	42	58	29
	100%	100%	100%	100%
Net favorable	34	18	11	36

"Now I'm going to read you a few statements that have sometimes been made about the U.S. Please indicate for each statement whether or not you consider it on the whole to be true about the U.S."

If "true":

"Now I want to ask you this: "Is this something you like a lot about America, dislike a lot about America, or doesn't it matter very much?"

"Women in America play a particularly useful role in public affairs."	Great Britain	West Germany	France	Italy
No. of cases	(587)	(585)	(596)	(637)
Like a lot	27%	33%	14%	26%
Dislike a lot	4	5	3	11
Doesn't matter very much	11	9	5	9
No opinion	5	1	3	2
Per cent "True"	47%	48%	25%	48%
Net liking	23	28	11	15

Net Favorable Reaction of More-educated and Less-educated

"From impressions you have received from any sources, would you indicate your opinion of the following aspect of life in the U.S."

"Women's Activities in the U.S."

	Net Favorable	No. of Cases
Great Britain		
Secondary or college education	32	(89)
Primary education or none	34	(409)
West Germany		
Secondary or college education	14	(102)
Primary education or none	19	(500)
France		
Secondary or college education	12	(116)
Primary education or none	12	(506)
Italy		
Secondary or college education	43	(123)
Primary education or none	30	(410)

Reaction of More-educated and Less-educated

"Women in America play a particularly useful role in public affairs."	Great Britain		West Germany	
	Secondary/ Coll. ed.	Primary ed. or none	Secondary/ Coll. ed.	Primary ed. or none
No. of cases	(97)	(393)	(106)	(479)
Like very much	40	27	40	32
Dislike very much	8	3	5	5
Doesn't make much difference	7	11	(	(
No opinion	5	5	(13	(9
Total ascribing to Americans	60	46	58	46
Net favorable	32	24	35	27

	France		Italy	
	Secondary/ Coll. ed.	Primary ed. or none	Secondary/ Coll. ed.	Primary ed. or none
No. of cases	(105)	(491)	(112)	(409)
Like very much	19	14	39	22
Dislike very much	5	2	17	10
Doesn't make much difference	13	4	12	7
No opinion	3	2	2	1
Total ascribing to Americans	40	22	70	40
Net favorable	14	12	22	12

BUT LUKEWARM REACTION TO WOMEN'S ACTIVITIES IS PRIMARILY OWING TO MALE JUDGMENTS. WOMEN BOTH MORE FAVORABLE AND MORE INTERESTED...

The lukewarm reaction to womens activities in America stems basically from the attitudes of the male half of the sample. When it comes to the women, net favorable ratings are apt to be considerably higher and the role of women in America is generally the one aspect of life in America in which the women are most interested.

	Net Favorable reaction to Women activities in America	No. of Cases	Net liking for America because "women in America play a particularly useful role in public affairs"	No. of Cases	Percentage at least somewhat interested in learning more about women's activities in America	No. Of Cases
Great Britain						
Men	23%	(300)	16%	(258)	15%	(570)
Women	45	(211)	30	(299)	48	(662)
West Germany						
Men	13%	(261)	26%	(271)	24%	(531)
Women	23	(349)	30	(314)	53	(669)
France						
Men	7%	(304)	9%	(315)	24%	(574)
Women	17	(318)	15	(281)	38	(626)
Italy						
Men	32%	(330)	8%	(338)	30%	(618)
Women	41	(305)	22	(299)	67	(657)

AMERICAN LEISURE TIME ACTIVITIES VIEWED FAVORABLY IN ALL NATIONS AND INTEREST IN LEARNING MORE ABOUT THEM IS QUITE HIGH...

American leisure time activities are favorably rated in all nations, and interest in learning more about them is quite high. Only in Italy where the better-educated are considerably more favorably impressed, is there variation by education in ratings, but interest, as usual, tends to be higher among the better educated.

"From impressions you have received from any sources, would you indicate your opinion of the following aspects of life in the U.S."

Leisure time activities in the U.S.	Great Britain	West Germany	France	Italy
No. of cases	(587)	(585)	(596)	(637)
Very good opinion	18%	16%	8%	26%
Good opinion	39	30	35	30
Neither good nor bad opinion	15	12	12	14
Bad opinion	6	5	6	7
Very bad opinion	1	1	1	4
No opinion	21	36	38	19
	100%	100%	100%	100%
Net Favorable	50	40	36	45

Net Favorable Reaction of More-educated and Less-educated

"From impressions you have received from any sources, would you indicate your opinion of the following aspects of life in America."

"Leisure-time Activities in the U.S."

	Net Favorable	No. of Cases
Great Britain		
Secondary or college education	52	(97)
Primary education or none	46	(393)
West Germany		
Secondary or college education	41	(106)
Primary education or none	40	(479)
France		
Secondary or college education	33	(105)
Primary education or none	37	(491)
Italy		
Secondary or college education	60	(112)
Primary education or none	37	(409)

Net Interest of More-educated and Less-educated

"Please use this card to tell me how interested you would be in getting more information about these areas of U.S. life. Would you be very interested, somewhat interested, or not particularly interested?"

"Leisure-time Activities in the U.S."

	Per cent at least somewhat interested	No. of Cases
Great Britain		
Secondary or college education	50	(187)
Primary education or none	38	(847)
Total population	41	(1232)
West Germany		
Secondary or college education	64	(213)
Primary education or none	41	(987)
Total population	45	(1200)
France		
Secondary or college education	45	(222)
Primary education or none	25	(978)
Total population	29	(1200)
Italy		
Secondary or college education	50	(245)
Primary education or none	28	(816)
Total population	37	(1269)

UNFAVORABLE OPINION OF YOUTH IN AMERICA ENDEMIC AMONG ALL AGE GROUPS, BUT INTEREST IN LEARNING MORE ON THE SUBJECT IS VERY HIGH...

The reputation of American youth -affected to some degree by sensational accounts of delinquency and rock-and-roll - is about the lowest of any of the aspects of life included in the survey. Nor can this reaction be dismissed as the traditional feeling of an older generation against a younger: in West Germany and Italy it is true there is a slight tendency for older respondents to be most critical of American youth; but in France and Britain the young people are just as unfavorably inclined as the older, or even more so. Among the better-educated and factually better-informed about America, opinions of American youth are just as negative as among the least-educated, and in France more so.

With this generally unfavorable reaction goes a rather high level of interest in learning more about the subject - particularly high among the young and better-educated.

"From impressions you have received from any sources, would you indicate your opinion of the following aspects of life in the U.S."

	Great Britain	West Germany	France	Italy
No. of cases	(587)	(585)	(596)	(637)
Youth in the U.S.				
Very good opinion	4%	3%	1%	7%
Good opinion	20	18	11	15
Neither good nor bad opinion	27	26	22	25
Bad opinion	21	16	19	17
Very bad opinion	5	2	5	11
No opinion	23	35	42	25
	100%	100%	100%	100%
Net Favorable	-2	3	-12	-6

Comparision by Education and Age

"From impressions you have received from any sources, would you indicate your opinion of the following aspects of life in America...Youth in America?"

"Please use this card to tell me how interested you would be in getting more information about these areas of American life. Would you be very interested, somewhat interested, or not particularly interested."

Youth in America

	Net Favorable	No. of Cases	Percent at least "somewhat" interested	No. of Cases
Great Britain				
Secondary or college education	+4	(97)	48%	(187)
Primary education or none	-2	(393)	32	(847)
21-29 years	-1	(97)	47	(145)
30-64	-1	(406)	40	(905)
65 and over	-6	(84)	19	(182)
Total population			37	(1232)
West Germany				
Secondary or college education	6	(106)	73	(213)
Primary education or none	2	(479)	39	(987)
21-29 years	-1	(108)	53	(231)
30-64 years	4	(429)	45	(846)
65 and over	-13	(48)	22	(123)
Total population			44	(1200)
France				
Secondary or college education	-21	(105)	53	(222)
Primary education or none	- 9	(491)	31	(978)
21-29 years	-21	(88)	44	(203)
30-64 years	-13	(399)	38	(807)
65 and over	+1	(109)	16	(190)
Total population			37	(1200)
Italy				
Secondary or college education	- 5	(112)	60	(245)
Primary education or none	-11	(409)	30	(186)
21-29 years	3	(147)	53	(321)
30-64 years	-11	(419)	36	(828)
65 years and over	- 1	(71)	24	(120)
Total population			39	(1269)

E. Religion in America

FAVORABLE OPINIONS OF RELIGION IN THE U.S. PREDOMINATE, BUT HAVE NOTABLY DECLINED IN THREE OUT OF FOUR COUNTRIES ...

While attitudes toward religion in the U.S. is still predominantly positive in the net, there has been a notable decline in favorable sentiment, since an earlier measurement in 1956, in Italy, Great Britain and West Germany. In France there has apparently been some improvement in attitudes since the earlier survey.

"From impressions you have received from any source, would you indicate your opinion of the following aspects of life in the U.S."

	Great Britain		West Germany		France		Italy	
Religion in the U.S.:	Apr. '56	Oct. '58	Apr. '56	Oct. '58	Apr. '56	Oct. '58	Apr. '56	Oct. '58
No. of cases	(806)	(611)	(863)	(610)	(800)	(624)	(825)	(635)
Very good opinion	15%	9%	6%	6%	3%	2%	18%	3%
Good opinion	33	28	39	31	12	20	26	23
Neither good nor bad opin.	24	19	23	16	16	20	25	29
Bad opinion	3	7	5	5	5	6	6	9
Very bad opinion	1	1	*	*	4	-	2	4
No opinion	24	36	27	42	60	52	23	32
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Net Favorable	44	29	40	32	6	16	36	13

Net Favorable Reaction of More-educated and Less-educated

"From impressions you have received from any sources, would you indicate your opinion of the following aspects of life in the U.S."

	Religion in the U.S. Net Favorable	No. of cases
Great Britain		
Secondary or college education	25	(89)
Primary education or none	29	(409)
West Germany		
Secondary or college education	40	(102)
Primary education or none	30	(508)
France		
Secondary or college education	23	(116)
Primary education or none	14	(506)
Italy		
Secondary or college education	23	(123)
Primary education or none	27	(410)

1 Losses in Italy over the 1956-58 period were particularly heavy among quasi-elite groups in the population - the better-educated and those with professional, executive and white collar jobs - as well as among those aged 21-29 and those in the more industralized North.

2 In 1956, the Phrase, "Church and Religious Life in America" was used. It is doubtful that the slight variation in wording would account for the shift in opinion.

INTEREST MODERATE IN LEARNING MORE ABOUT RELIGION IN THE U.S...

There is a moderate amount of interest in learning more about religion in the U.S. As is usually found, the better-educated respondents generally showed more interest in learning more of the subject than the poorer and Less-educated. (In addition, there was particular interest among women in Britain and Italy, and persons 65 and older in West Germany and Italy.) But generally speaking, whatever the group, "Religion in America" was among the lowest items of interest.

Net Favorable Reaction of More educated and Less educated

Religion in the U.S.

	Percentage at least "somewhat" interested	No. of Cases
Great Britain		
Secondary or college education	42%	(187)
Primary education or none	26	(847)
Total population	30	(1232)
West Germany		
Secondary or college education	44%	(213)
Primary education or none	29	(987)
Total population	31	(1200)
France		
Secondary or college education	31	(222)
Primary education or none	17	(978)
Total population	20	(1200)
Italy		
Secondary or college education	42%	(245)
Primary education or none	31	(816)
Total population	34	(1269)

F. Summary of Reactions to Aspects of Life in America

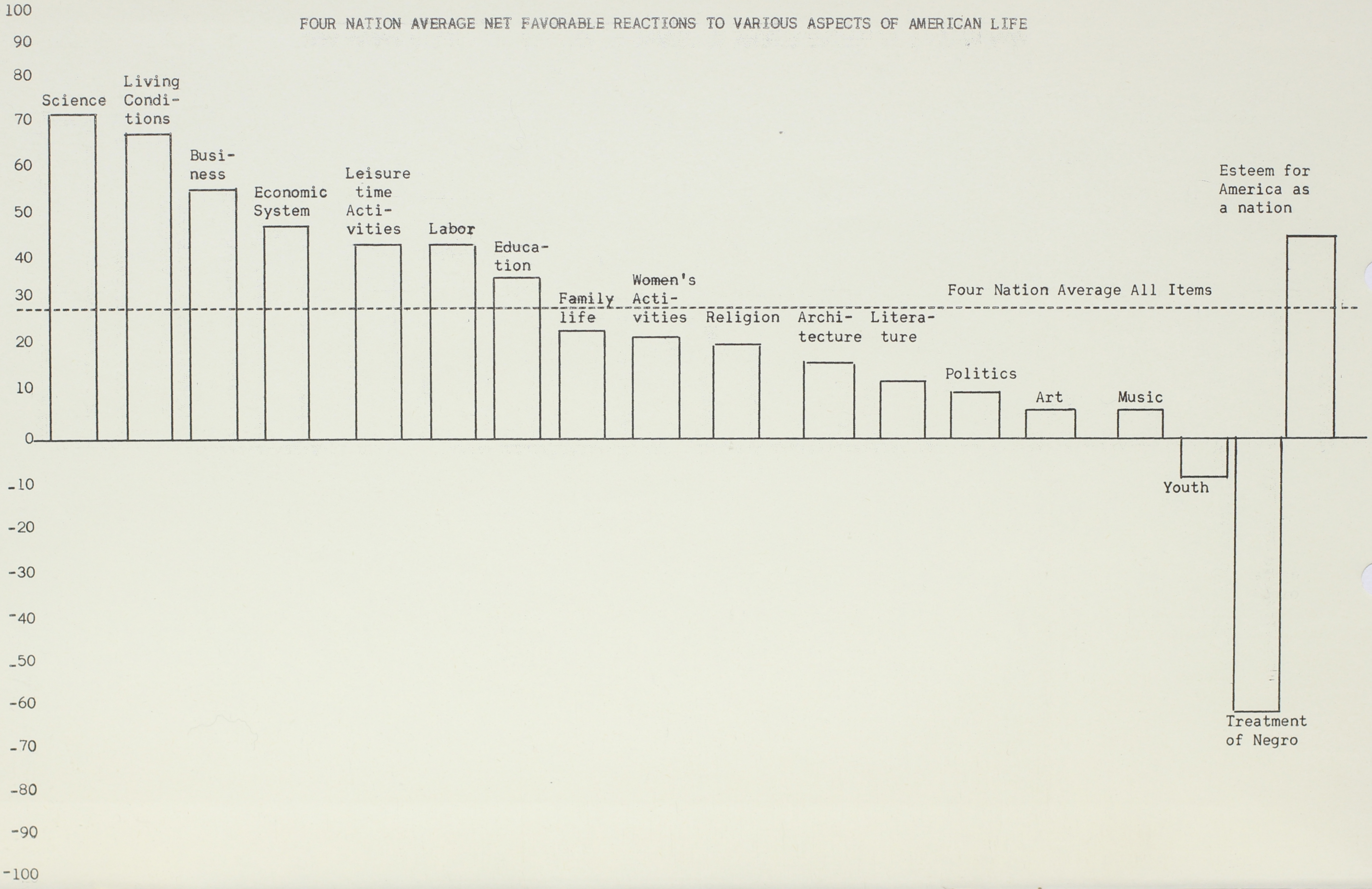
In this and preceding chapters much of the material presented has been in terms of favorable-unfavorable reactions to various aspects of life in America. Since the results have been dealt with under broad general categories, and interspersed with other types of questions, it seems well at this point to recapitulate the total reactions to 17 aspects of American life.

The graph below representsthe "average" reaction to each of the aspects of American life in terms of net favorable percentages, ranging from the very high approval of science in America to the basically negative reaction to youth in America. The "Four-Nation Average" line (actually a net favorable percentage of 27) allows each facet of American life to be visualized in relation to this line as above or below par.

It can be noted immediately that the complex of activities surrounding science, business and the general standard of living, as well as American education, are rated significantly above average; in contrast, architecture, art, literature and music, along with politics and youth fall considerably below par. The other aspects of life in America are somewhat, but not excessively below average. Thus, we can tentatively assume that certain aspects of American life tend to improve the total image, whereas others - particularly in the cultural field - tend to lower it. And opinion of the status of the Negro is heavily on the negative side.

The final row - the net favorable reaction to the U.S. as a nation, the general esteem in which the U.S. is held - provides a similar type of comparative measurement. Science, living conditions and business in America are actually viewed more favorably than America as a nation is, and presumably help to raise the general American prestige. The lower-ranking aspects of life in America by the same token tend to lower American prestige.

FOUR NATION AVERAGE NET FAVORABLE REACTIONS TO VARIOUS ASPECTS OF AMERICAN LIFE



COMPARISON BY INDIVIDUAL NATIONS INDICATES CONSISTENTLY LESS FAVORABLE REACTION AMONG FRENCH...

The table below is based upon the preceding graph. The results here are recapitulated by nation as well as by four-nation average. They indicate certain patterns of national variation:

1. Net favorable reaction to most of the areas of American life is considerably lower among the French than in the three other nations. The main exceptions to this pattern are science and labor in America.

2. Among the British, generally favorable, reaction is below the four-nation average for such areas of American life as labor, education, politics, literature and cultural life in general. It is well above average for business, family life and music.

3. West Germans are below average in their rating of labor in America, and of music. They are above average in their ratings of general cultural life, religion, family life and music.

4. Italian respondents are below average in their ratings of religion and family life in America. But they are higher than average in respect to labor, education, general cultural life and such specific aspects of cultural life as literature and art.

"From impressions you have received from any sources, would you indicate your opinion of the following aspects of life in the U.S.

	Net Favorable Percentage				
	Great Britain	West Germany	France	Italy	Four-nation average
Science in America	79	66	67	70	71
Living conditions	77	72	54	71	69
Business	71	56	44	52	56
Labor	27	30	45	68	43
Leisure time activities	52	46	36	45	43
Education	31	38	30	56	39
Economic system	45	51	31	48	44
Women's activities	32	18	11	36	24
Religion	25	32	16	13	22
Family life	59	35	9	-4	25
Politics	-2	35	10	17	15
Literature	6	26	0	29	18
Architecture	24	26	-5	26	18
Art	8	14	-4	19	9
Music	27	0	-9	16	9
Youth	4	3	12	-6	-3
Treatment of Negroes	-58	-47	-70	-27	-50
Average:	30	30	16	31	27
U.S. as a Nation	52	65	23	53	49

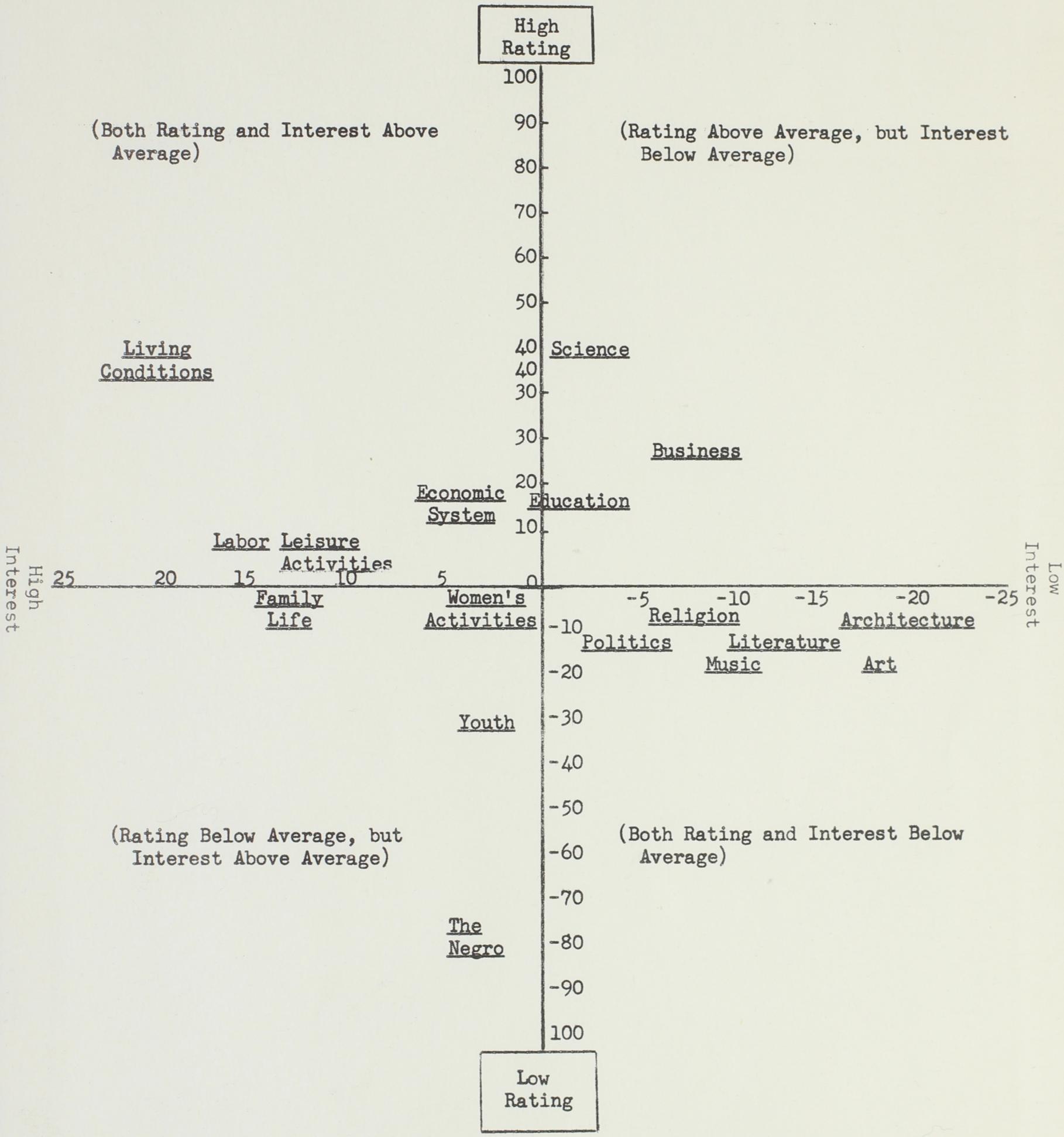
RATINGS OF VARIOUS ASPECTS OF LIFE IN AMERICA COMBINED WITH INTEREST IN LEARNING MORE ABOUT EACH PROVIDE NEW DIMENSION ...

But in addition to the evaluation of various aspects of life in America, there is the matter of receptivity to information about the different areas -- the interest in getting more information about them. The table below and the chart following map out the relationship between rating and receptivity. It can be seen for example that, as an extreme case, though rating of the treatment of Negroes in America is extremely low, interest in learning more about the subject is high. Here is an area of opportunity where a definite receptivity for material is indicated. On the other hand in the case of art in America, both ratings and interest are low -- indication of a particularly difficult area. In the case of American living conditions, interest in knowing more is extremely high, but so too is the rating -- indication that little emphasis is needed here, except, perhaps, in using material on American living conditions as a tie-in with other less favored areas of American life.

Rating of Various Aspects of American Life and Interest in Learning More About Each

Aspect of American life:	Four-nation Average: Net Favorable rating	Four-nation Average: Interest in learning more	High-Low Position: Relation of rating to average rating	High-Low Position: Relation of interest to average interest
Science	71	34%	+44	-2
Living conditions	69	57	42	21
Business	56	31	29	-5
Economic system	44	39	17	3
Labor	43	49	16	13
Leisure activities	43	38	16	12
Education	39	36	12	0
Family life	25	49	-2	13
Women's activities	24	38	-3	2
Religion	22	29	-5	-7
Architecture	18	18	-9	-18
Politics	15	32	-12	-4
Literature	15	25	-12	-11
Art	9	17	-18	-16
Music	9	25	-18	-11
Youth	-3	39	-30	3
Treatment of Negro	-50	39	-77	3
Average	27	36		

Rating of and Interest in Various Aspects of American Life



"High" and "Low" are defined in relationship to the arithmetical mean for the 17 items - in the case of ratings, 27 points; in the case of interest, 36 points. The position of each item on the graph is in terms of the number of percentage points above or below "average" rating and interest as indicated in last 2 columns on the preceding page.

IX. Reactions to the Impact of American Culture Upon Western Europe

One of the most frequent charges against the United States, and one possessing a particularly inflammatory appeal, is that of "cultural imperialism." Its manifestations include in the eyes of European critics everything from chewing gum and "cocacolonization" to corruption of the language and the youth. The generality of the existence of this theme throughout all strata of society suggests that it is endemic and not merely created by Communist propaganda.

The chapter to follow will examine the Image of America as an exporter of culture in order to ascertain in what nations and in what segments of the population various "imports" from America are most resented and to determine which aspects of our culture appear to be greeted with net hostility and which ones with net approval.

A. Person to Person Contacts

AMERICAN TOURISTS STILL CONSIDERED GOOD INFLUENCES IN EUROPE, BUT THERE HAS BEEN A FALLING OFF SINCE 1956...

Among the person-to-person impacts of America on Western Europe, the much-maligned tourist remains the most appreciated. A slight falling off since 1956 (except in France) may represent a mere temporary set-back or it may represent the beginning of a trend as tourism grows and more and more American individuals and groups hitherto unaccustomed to European travel come into contact with Western Europeans.

> "As you know, (survey country) is affected by other countries through such things as movies, books, etc. Please use this card to tell me what kind of influence each of the following things from the U.S. has on (survey country) - A very good influence, more good than bad, more bad than good, or a very bad influence. How about...?"

American tourists in (survey country):	Great Britain		West Germany		France		Italy	
	Nov. '56	Oct. '58	Nov. '56	Oct. '58	Nov. '56	Oct. '58	Nov. '56	Oct. '58
No. of cases	(1210)	(587)	(1159)	(585)	(1227)	(596)	(1209)	(637)
Very good influence	43%	26%	20%	10%	17%	6%	47%	27%
More good than bad influence	28	38	37	39	30	44	26	36
More bad than good	4	3	2	4	4	8	3	7
Very bad influence	1	1	*	1	2	-	2	3
No influence	8	12	5	8	14	-	3	)
No opinion	16	20	36	38	33	42	19	)27
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Net Favorable	66	60	55	44	41	42	68	33

AMERICAN STUDENTS ALSO WELCOMED . . .

To a somewhat lesser degree than in the case of the tourists, the small and more select body of Americans studying in Western Europe are viewed as good influences. (The lower net rating of American students stem from a quite high proportion of persons with no opinion rather than any widespread unfavorable reaction.)

American students in (survey country):	Great Britain	West Germany	France	Italy
No. of cases	(587)	(585)	(596)	(637)
Very good influence	16%	11%	4%	17%
More good than bad influence	31	35	28	28
More bad than good	3	2	3	5
Very bad influence	1	-	-	2
No influence at all	13	7	-	48
No opinion	36	45	65	
	100%	100%	100%	100%
Net Favorable	43	44	29	38

AMERICAN RESIDENTS LESS HIGHLY REGARDED THAN TOURISTS OR STUDENTS BUT NET REACTION POSITIVE SIDE . . .

Semi-permanent American residents, as distinct from tourists and students, are less likely to be rated as a favorable influence. In France, the favorable reaction only slightly exceeds the unfavorable.

American residents in (survey country):	Great Britain	West Germany	France	Italy
No. of cases	(611)	(610)	(624)	(635)
Very good influence	11%	6%	1%	17%
More good than bad infuence	26	43	23	33
More bad than good	8	12	12	7
Very bad influence	2	2	3	5
No influence at all	23	6	-	38
No opinion	30	31	61	
	100%	100%	100%	100%
Net Favorable	27	35	9	38

RESPONDENTS SPLIT FAIRLY EVENLY ON REACTION TO AMERICAN SERVICEMEN AND IN ONE COUNTRY-FRANCE -TEND TO SEE THEM AS BAD INFLUENCES...

When it comes to the influence at American servicemen, the margin of favorable to unfavorable reaction is quite low in three nations, and in a fourth - France - negative reaction is appreciably more frequent. To some degree this may represent a political judgment rather than a simple assessment of the influence of U.S. troops.

American servicemen in (survey country):	Great Britain	West Germany	France	Italy
No. of cases	(587)	(585)	(396)	(637)
Very good influence	5%	3%	1%	7%
More good than bad influence	38	33	18	26
More bad than good	20	22	30	13
Very bad influence	10	5	8	12
No influence at all	11	6	-	
No opinion	16	31	43	42
	100%	100%	100%	100%
Net Favorable	13	9	-19	8

BETTER-EDUCATED USUALLY MORE LIKEY TO WELCOME INDIVIDUAL AMERICANS AS GOOD INFLUENCE, BUT IN CASE OF AMERICAN SERVICEMEN THEY ARE LESS LIKELY TO APPROVE ...

When it comes to the influence of individual Americans, such as tourists, students and residents, the better educated are likely to express more net approval than the less educated. However, in the case of Americans servicemen, the situation is reversed, and it is the educational elites who are most critical in three out of the four nations.

Net Favorable Reaction of more-educated and Less-educated

	Net Favorable American Tourists	American Students	American Residents	American Servicemen	No. of cases
Great Britain					
Secondary or college education	63	54	25	8	(89;97)
Primary education or none	56	40	27	18	(409;393)
West Germany					
Secondary or college education	49	56	50	2	(102;106)
Primary education or none	44	41	31	14	(508;479)
France					
Secondary or college education	45	40	3	-27	(116;105)
Primary education or none	40	26	11	-17	(506;491)
Italy					
Secondary or college education	63	54	49	30	(123;112)
Primary education or none	43	29	31	-3	(410;409)

B. Contacts Through the Printed Word

In addition to the personal impact of American individuals, there is the less direct impact of printed media originating from America, an impact perhaps less intense but certainly more widespread and cumulative.

EXCEPT IN FRANCE, AMERICAN LIBRARIES AND BOOKS AND WRITERS PREDOMINATELY CONSIDERED GOOD INFLUENCES, BUT MANY HAVE NO OPINION . . .

American libraries - whether USIS or private in nature - are generally accepted in the net as exerting a favorable influence. And in a similar study in 1956, American books and writers were favored. It is clear that for the larger proportion of the public American libraries and books are seen not as an example of cultural imperialism but as a beneficial sharing of culture and information. Nevertheless, in all four nations,as many as one in ten feel that American libraries and books represent a bad influence - an unusual finding in the case of something so innocuous and so generally automatically approved as a library. For this one in ten, apparently, the negative effects of American sponsorship outweigh the normal favorable reaction to a library. And in most nations a majority or a near-majority have no opinion. Only in France does negative reaction almost balance favorable reaction.

American libraries	Great Britain	West Germany	France	Italy
No. of cases	(611)	(610)	(624)	(635)
Very good influence	7%	6%	1%	11%
More good than bad influence	17	36	14	22
More bad than good influence	6	8	9	10
Very bad influence	3	2	3	1
No influence at all	11	4	-	-
No opinion	56	44	73	56
	100%	100%	100%	100%
Net Favorable	15	32	3	22

American books and writers:	Great Britain Nov. 56	West Germany Nov. 56	France Nov.56	Italy Nov.56
No. of cases	(1210)	(1159)	(1227)	(1209)
Very good influence	5%	6%	*%	14%
More good than bad influence	21	27	14	27
More bad than good influence	11	7	9	8
Very bad influence	4	2	3	1
No influence at all	13	3	16	3
No opinion	46	55	58	47
	100%	100%	100%	100%
Net Favorable	11	24	2	32

BUT AMERICAN NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES FARE MUCH LESS WELL . . .

American newspapers are considerably less highly regarded than books and libraries and in France and England are actually seen as deleterious influences by the weight of opinion. American magazines fare even worse; break even in Germany and Italy, and are regarded as bad influences by wide margins in Britain and France. Again, the "No opinion" responses are very high in three nations - indicating little or no contact, even indirect, with American newspapers and magazines.

American newspapers:	Great Britain	West Germany	France	Italy
No. of cases	(587)	(585)	(596)	(637)
Very good influence	3%	5%	1%	11%
More good than bad influence	16	25	14	22
More bad than good	17	9	17	12
Very bad influence	6	3	4	8
No influence at all	24	13	-	)47
No opinion	34	45	64	)
	100%	100%	100%	100%
Net Favorable	-4	18	-6	13

American magazines:	Great Britain	West Germany	France	Italy
No. of cases	(611)	(610)	(624)	(635)
Very good influence	4%	5%	-%	10%
More good than bad influence	18	22	13	25
More bad than good	31	19	29	18
Very bad influence	18	6	8	6
No influence at all	13	10	-	)41
No opinion	16	38	50	)
	100%	100%	100%	100%
Net Favorable	-27	2	-24	-11

BETTER-EDUCATED TEND TO REACT MORE FAVORABLY TO AMERICAN LIBRARIES AND BOOKS IN THEIR COUNTRIES BUT EXCEPT IN ITALY NOT TO NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES...

Where the influence of the American printed word is concerned, the better-educated tend to assess it more favorably than the less-educated, and not merely because the well-educated are less likely to have an opinion on the issue. In some instances there are no significant differences between the two groups, but wherever there is a difference it is nearly always in the direction of a more favorable assessment on the part of the more-educated groups.

As might be expected, the better-educated are most likely to display net approval of the influence of American libraries, with the greatest group-differences to be found in West Germany and Italy. American books and writers are assessed more favorably by the better-educated respondents except in Britain - where, it can be recalled, the better-educated in an earlier section of this report, were particularly critical of American literature. In the case of American newspapers, however, there is no significant variation except in Italy; while American magazines are assessed more favorably by the better-educated in Italy; but less so in Britain.

Net Favorable Reaction of More -educated and less - educated

Net Favorable Influence of:	American Libraries	American books & writers	American newspapers	American magazines	No. of cases
Great Britain					
Secondary or college education	26%	14%	-6%	-40%	(89;97)
Primary education or none	16	10	-5	-28	(409;393)
West Germany					
Secondary or college education	53	44	26	4	(102;106)
Primary education or none	27	19	18	0	(508;479)
France					
Secondary or college education	19	14	-1	-25	(116;105)
Primary education or none	-1	0	-8	-24	(506;491)
Italy					
Secondary or college education	45	62	33	19	(123;112)
Primary education or none	11	23	3	5	(410;409)

C. Contacts Through Sound and Sight - VOA and the Movies

VOA PREDOMINANTLY REGARDED AS GOOD INFLUENCE, BUT NO OPINION WIDESPREAD ...

An American "export" which is strictly governmental - the Voice of America - seems well regarded in Western Europe, surpassing most of the items on the list. Its standing in generally unenthusiastic France is particularly noteworthy.

Voice of America - Radio:	Great Britain	West Germany	France	Italy
No. of cases	(587)	(585)	(596)	(637)
Very good influence	8%	9%	4%	13%
More good than bad influence	15	31	20	24
More bad than good	5	3	4	6
Very bad influence	3	1	1	5
No influence at all	13	6	-	)52
No opinion	56	50	71	)
	100%	100%	100%	100%
Net Favorable	15	36	19	26

MUCH NEGATIVITY FOUND TO IMPACT OF AMERICAN FILMS ...

Only in one nation - Italy - is there a clear tendency for American films to be regarded as a good influence. In Britain, opinion divides rather evenly. In France, and usually receptive West Germany, the reaction is far over on the negative side.

American Films:	Great Britain Nov. '56	West Germany Nov. '56	France Nov. '56	Italy Nov. '56
No. of cases	(1210)	(1159)	(1227)	(1209)
Very good influence	8%	2%	*%	16%
More good than bad influence	28	15	9	31
More bad than good influence	26	39	27	18
Very bad influence	9	14	11	5
No influence at at all	12	3	17	4
No opinion	17	27	36	26
	100%	100%	100%	100%
Net Favorable	1	-36	-29	24

---

[1] The reader should appreciate that these findings stem from a 1956 study and changes may well have occurred since that time. Moreover influence, while an important aspect, is only one dimension of evaluation and other questions are needed for any well-rounded appraisal. A more detailed study is now in process.

* Less than one-half of one per cent.

BETTER-EDUCATED FRENCH AND BRITISH PARTICULARLY NEGATIVE TO INFLUENCE OF AMERICAN FILMS IN THEIR COUNTRIES . . .

The upper educational groups in both France and Britain take a significantly more unfavorable view than the less-educated of the influence of American films on their countries. (In West Germany, both educational groups are equally negative, while in Italy both are equally friendly.) This is one of the few instances where the better-educated tend to be more negative than the less-educated in their assessment of American influences.

- In the case of VOA, both educational groups tend to react equally favorably, except in Italy where the better-educated tend particularly to welcome U.S. broadcasts.

Net Favorable Reaction of More-educated and Less-educated

	Voice of America-Radio		American Films	
	Net Favorable	No. of cases	Net Favorable	No. of cases
Great Britain				
Secondary or college education	14	(97)	-29	(172)
Primary education or none	16	(393)	6	(859)
West Germany				
Secondary or college education	38	(106)	-39	(206)
Primary education or none	37	(479)	-32	(953)
France				
Secondary or college education	27	(105)	-39	(205)
Primary education or none	17	(491)	-24	(1022)
Italy				
Secondary or college education	45	(112)	38	(238)
Primary education or none	18	(409)	25	(971)

THOSE UNDER THIRTY MORE FAVORABLE TO AMERICAN FILMS THAN THEIR ELDERS...

An equally sharp and more consistent difference of opinion can be noted when the reactions of those aged 21-29 are compared to the reactions of their elders. The younger group in all four countries display a consistently more favorable attitude towards the influence of U.S. films on their country than do their elders. Despite this more favorable reaction on the part of the 21-29 year group, it should be noted that in West Germany and France, their net reaction is still negative. (The sample was limited to those 21 years and over. If, for example, a 14-20 age group had been included, it is probable that this group would be most favorable of all to the influence of American films.)

Net Favorable Reaction of Younger and Older Respondents to American Films

	Net Favorable	No. of Cases
Great Britain		
21-29 years	18	(155)
30 years and over	-2	(1055)
West Germany		
21-29 years	-15	(225)
30 years and over	-39	(934)
France		
21-29 years	-14	(232)
30 years and over	-31	(995)
Italy		
21-29 years	38	(300)
30 years and over	21	(909)

D. Impact of American Religious Ideas

AMERICAN RELIGIOUS IDEAS PREDOMINANTLY REGARDED AS GOOD INFLUENCE EXCEPT IN ITALY, BUT MAJORITY ARE NOT AWARE OF ANY INFLUENCE ...

Religious ideas from America appear to be most accepted as a beneficial influence in Britain, although even there a majority either see American religious ideas as having no influence at all or have no opinion on the subject. In West Germany and France, there is slight predominance of favorable reactions, while in Italy opinion divides evenly.

In general, there appears to be little variation in reaction among population subgroups in each of the countries. There were no items on the questionnaire to enable comparisons to be made by religious affiliation and intensity of belief. However, comparison of the reactions of Italian respondents indicate that in this country most negative reactions are found among PCI supporters, as might be expected, but also in the ranks of the Catholic-oriented Demo-Christians. In contrast, greatest amount of feeling that American religious ideas are beneficial to Italy appears to be among the conservative, pro-American and anti-clerical Liberals. Thus in Italy the American religious influence appears often to be seen as Protestant and anti-clerical and is presumably viewed in the light of continuing controversy over Protestant missionary activity in that country.

American Religious ideas	Great Britain	West Germany	France	Italy
No. of cases	(611)	(610)	(624)	(635)
Very good influence	8%	1%	1%	3%
More good than bad influence	25	17	14	20
More bad than good influence	6	8	5	13
Very bad influence	2	3	1	10
No influence at all	23	19	-	)
No opinion	36	50	79	)54
	100%	100%	100%	100%
Net Favorable	25	9	9	-

REACTION OF MORE AND LESS-EDUCATED TO IMPACT OF AMERICAN RELIGIOUS IDEAS DOES NOT DIFFER...

On the issue of the impact of American religious ideas, the better educated minority reacts in about the same way as the less-educated in all four nations; that is mildly favorable in the net in three nations and rather evenly divided in Italy.

Net Favorable Reaction of More-educated and Less-educated to American Religious Ideas

	Net Favorable	No. of cases
Great Britain		
Secondary or college education	17	(89)
Primary education or none	27	(409)
West Germany		
Secondary or college education	16	(102)
Primary education or none	9	(508)
France		
Secondary or college education	14	(116)
Primary education or none	7	(506)
Italy		
Secondary or college education	-4	(123)
Primary education or none	-3	(410)

E. The Impact of American Clothing, Foods and Drinks

Among the vehicles of ethnocentrism food and clothing have always ranked high in persistence and intensity. To Greek and Roman alike, a Barbarian was a man who not only babbled in a strange tongue but who also drank beer, ate butter and wore trousers. Over centuries, French and British have referred to each other disparagingly as "rosbifs" and "frogs." Thus the importance of the impact of American foods, drinks and clothing styles on Western Europe should not be underestimated or dismissed as trivial. In two nations at least these American"exports" are viewed as nearly the most deleterious of all.

AMERICAN CLOTHING STYLES JUDGED BAD INFLUENCE IN FRANCE AND ITALY...

To the greater part of those Frenchmen and Italians with opinions on the issue, American clothing styles - presumably such things as blue jeans and sweatshirts for many of the critics - are viewed as bad influences. In Britain, in contrast there is a modest net reaction approving American clothing - possibly because of its greater informality. In West Germany, where the surface American impact has perhaps been most extensive and prolonged, in the last decade, the questions on clothing and food and drink were unfortunately omitted.

American clothing styles No. of cases	Great Britain (611)	West Germany	France (624)	Italy (635)
Very good influence	11%		-%	2%
More good than bad influence	29	Not	14	18
More bad than good influence	18	Asked	31	24
Very bad influence	9		10	12
No influence at all	18		-	)44
No opinion	15		45	)
	100%		100%	100%
Net Favorable	13		-27	-16

IN BRITAIN, THE WOMEN ARE MOST LIKELY TO APPROVE AMERICAN CLOTHING STYLES: IN FRANCE, THE WOMEN ARE THEIR STRONGEST FOES...

On this issue there is no clear pattern of group reaction in the three nations. In Britain, the women - traditionally dressed by British manufacturers in something short of high style - particularly stress the benefits of American styles, whereas men divide evenly. Those under 45 are favorable, but older groups divide evenly or are actually negative. Conservatives, as might be expected, are slightly less favorable than Laborites; but among the very poor, the reaction is negative.

In France, the situation is rather different. French women - with a reputation for style to uphold - are particularly likely to see a bad influence in American clothing styles. The young, if anything, are more critical than the old; the rich than the poor; the better-educated than those with only elementary education; conservatives than socialists. Thus the most likely opponent of American styles in France would be a youngish woman, from the upper half of the nation, with considerable education and inclined to vote moderate Rightist. But despite this clustering of unfavorable reaction, there is literally no group in France which takes a favorable view of the influence of American clothing.

Net Favorable Reaction of Men and Women to American Clothing Styles

	Net Favorable	No. of cases
Great Britain		
Men	1	(300)
Women	22	(311)
France		
Men	-19	(304)
Women	-34	(318)
Italy		
Men	-17	(330)
Women	-13	(305)

AMERICAN FOODS AND DRINKS AN ABOMINABLE INVASION TO FRENCHMEN, BUT BRITISH TEND TO THINK THEY HELP...

In a nation famed for its conservative classic cuisine, the impact of American foods and drinks is particularly resented; in a nation whose culinary standards are the traditional butt even of its own writers, American products are welcomed. Whatever the reason may be, American foods and drinks are widely decried in France and hailed as beneficial in Britain. In Italy, there is a slight negative tendency. (Again, in West Germany, the question was omitted.)

American foods and drinks	Great Britain	West Germany	France	Italy
No. of cases	(587)		(596)	(637)
Very good influence	19%		2%	7%
More good than bad influence	32	Not	9	21
More bad than good influence	8	Asked	37	26
Very bad influence	2		15	10
No influence at all	20		-	)
No opinion	19		37	)36
	100%		100%	100%
Net Favorable	41		-41	-8

RURAL ITALIANS DIFFER WIDELY FROM URBAN ITALIANS OVER INFLUENCE OF AMERICAN FOODS...

In Britain all groups are widely agreed in accepting American foods and drinks as a good influence on their country; in France, all groups are equally agreed in considering them a bad influence. Only in Italy, is there a major variation. In that nation, citydwellers (including manual workers) are particularly apt to decry the influence of American foods and drinks; in the rural regions, whether respondent be an independent farmer or a hired farm-hand, there is a slight tendency to feel that American foods and drinks are beneficial to Italy. Here there seems to be an instance where traditional rural conservatism in habits of life is overcome by the obvious attraction of American foods and drinks for people often on a subsistence diet.

Net Favorable Reaction of Rural and Urban Population to American Foods and Drinks

	Net Favorable	No. of cases
Italy		
Rural	4	(165)
Rural-urban	4	(255)
Urban	-31	(215)
Metropolitan	-24	(109)

REACTION OF BETTER-EDUCATED FRENCH TO IMPACT OF AMERICAN CLOTHING STYLES AND FOODS AND DRINKS PARTICULARLY UNFAVORABLE...

In France, where opinion reacts most unfavorably to the impact of American clothing styles and foods and drinks, it is precisely the educational elite which appears most hostile to these influences and presumably helps to set the prevailing tone which filters down to the lean well-educated. No such consistent pattern is found in the other nations of the survey, though in Italy there is a slight tendency for the better-educated to be more censorious about the impact of American clothing styles.

Net Favorable Reaction of More-educated and Less-educated

	American clothing styles	American Foods and Drinks	No. of cases
Great Britain			
Secondary or college education	7	47	(89)
Primary education or none	14	40	(409)
West Germany			
Secondary or college education	NOT ASKED		
Primary education or none			
France			
Secondary or college education	-43	-56	(116)
Primary education or none	-23	-37	(506)
Italy			
Secondary or college education	-29	-11	(123)
Primary education or none	-12	-8	(410)

F. The Impact of American Jazz

AMERICAN JAZZ SEEN AS BAD INFLUENCE; TREND IN FRANCE AND GERMANY INDICATES INCREASE IN NEGATIVE REACTION...

To pluralities in all four nations, American jazz is an influence for the worse.[1] Highest level of critical reaction is still to be found in West Germany - possibly because of that nation's claim to preeminence in "traditional" music - and there has been a significant rise in unfavorable reaction in that nation.[2] The reaction in France, already widely negative in 1957, also has become even more unfriendly to American jazz over the period of a year and a half. (This reaction cannot be explained as a manifestation of a growing general dislike of America, since, as was noted earlier, esteem for America has risen sharply in the last year. The reaction is what it appears to be: an increasing distaste for the impact of American jazz on France.) In Britain and Italy reaction is less negative and has not changed appreciably.

> "As you know (survey country) is affected by other countries through such things as movies, books, etc. Please use this card to tell me what kind of influence each of the following things from the U.S. has on (survey country). - A very good influence, more good than bad, more bad than good, or very bad influence? What about ...?" (CARD

American jazz	Great Britain		West Germany		France		Italy	
	May '57	Oct. '58	May '57	Oct '58	May '57	Oct '58	May '57	Oct '58
No. of cases	(605)	(1198)	(611)	(1195)	(602)	(1220)	(634)	(1272)
Very good influence	5)	8%	1%	1%	1%	2%	9%	10%
More good than bad influence	23	27	14	10	7	13	11	19
More bad than good	21	21	26	26	22	37	8	26
Very bad influence	14	16	27	41	12	18	14	15
No influence at all	24	14	13	3	22	-	20	)
No opinion	13	14	19	19	36	30	38	)30
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Net Favorable	-7	-2	-48	-56	-26	-40	-14	-12

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[1] Respondents tend to make a distinction between American jazz and American music in general. The latter is given a net favorable rating in three out of four nations. See Section VI of this report, "The Cultural Image of America."

[2] For a more detailed examination of West European reactions to American Jazz, see S-18, "West European Reactions to American Jazz," 11 September 1957, Confidential.

EDUCATION APPARENTLY NO FACTOR IN REACTION TO AMERICAN JAZZ; BUT DIFFERENT AGE GROUPS VARY CONSIDERABLY, WITH YOUNGER MOST FAVORABLE...

The better-educated do not appear to differ significantly from their less-educated compatriots on the issue of the influence of American jazz. [1] However, when respondents are compared by age-groups, the variations between youngest and oldest are large. In all nations, it is the 21-29 year group which is most favorable, with a rapid decline from then on. Again, as in the case of the influence of American films, it can be suspected that a sample of, say, 14-20 years old, would be most favorable of all. However, though more favorable than their elders, the 21-29 year group is only on the positive side in Britain. In two nations, it is still negative in its net reaction, and in Italy no better than evenly divided.

Net Favorable Reaction by Education and Age

American Jazz

	Net Favorable	No. of cases
Great Britain		
Secondary or college education	-2	(186)
Primary education or none	-4	(802)
21-29 years	43	(182)
30-64 years	-2	(850)
65 years and over	-40	(166)
West Germany		
Secondary or college education	-40	(208)
Primary education or none	-56	(987)
21-29 years	-29	(204)
30-64 years	-60	(870)
65 years and over	-60	(121)
France		
Secondary or college education	-33	(221)
Primary education or none	-41	(997)
21-29 years	-11	(194)
30-64 years	-46	(805)
65 years and over	-44	(219)
Italy		
Secondary or college education	-8	(235)
Primary education or none	-13	(819)
21-29 years	1	(297)
30-64 years	-16	(835)
65 years and over	-9	(140)

[1] The data suggest that in France the top of the better-educated group - those with college education - tend to be less critical in their assessment of the influence of American jazz on France than the other educational groups, although they are also negative in the net. The number of cases is too few, however, to be conclusive.

SUMMARY OF REACTIONS TO VARIOUS IMPACTS FROM AMERICA INDICATE INDIVIDUALS, LIMITED CIRCULATION MEDIA MOST VALUED...

A summarization of West European opinions of various American cultural "exports" indicates a very definite pattern of reaction. The impact of individual Americans and of limited circulation media of a "class" nature are generally welcomed as beneficial (perhaps for the very reason that their impact is limited.) Into this category, VOA can be placed: though potentially a mass medium, in fact in the nations surveyed it generally has a comparatively small elite audience compared to the various national radio systems.

In contrast, it is the mass-media - popular magazines and motion pictures, the consumer goods, the music forms unconnected with the main stream of European culture - which arouse the greatest resentment. These appear to be the things of which the average European is thinking when he talks bitterly of "cultural imperialism" or of the "Americanization" of his country.

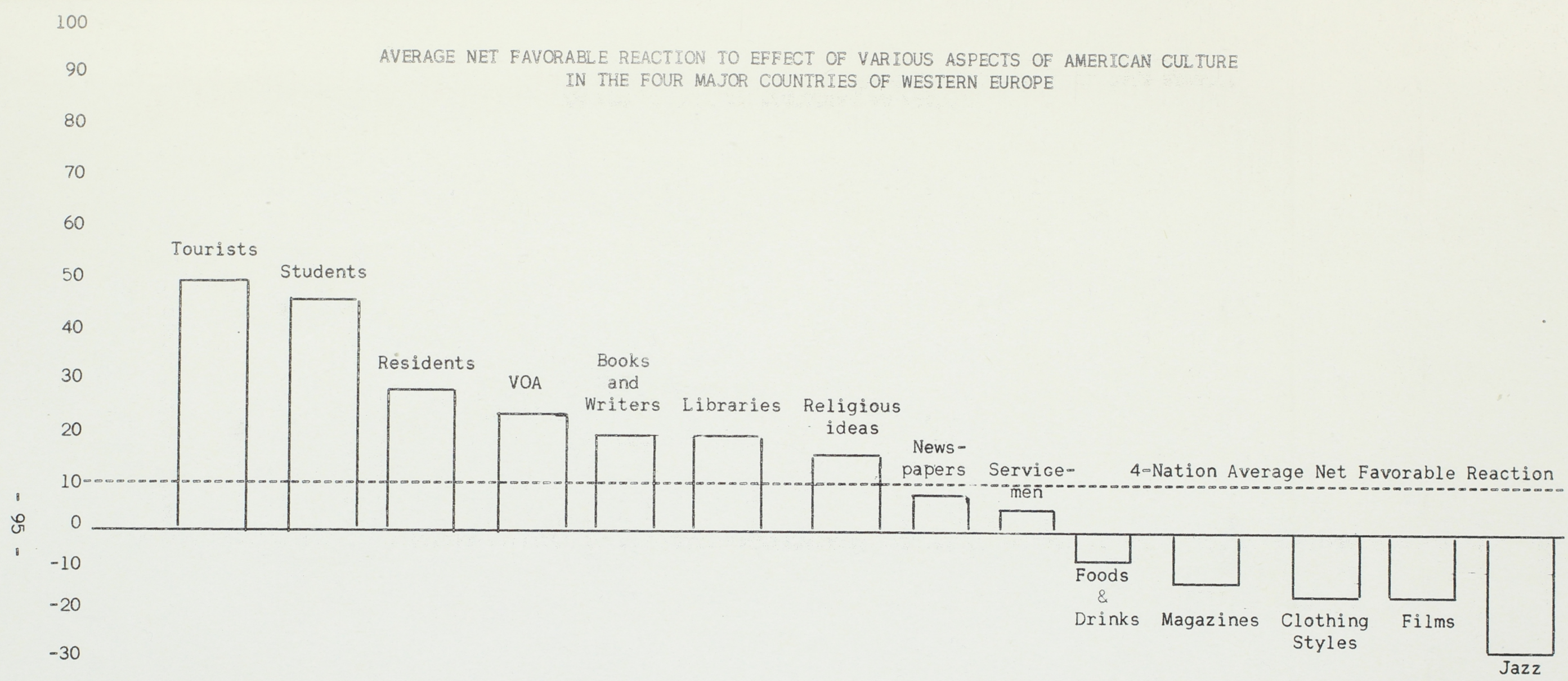
The list below recapitulates the 14 items, arranged in descending order of net favorable reactions. On the page following the material is presented graphically, with the four nation net favorable impact of each item compared to the four-nation average for all fourteen items. Thus the impact of each item can be observed as being better or worse than average: tourists and students, for example, are far above average; jazz is far below.

Net Favorable Reaction to Various American Cultural Exports

	Great Britain	West Germany	France	Italy	Four nation average
American tourists	60	44	42	53	50
American students	43	44	29	38	39
American residents	27	35	9	28	25
Voice of America	15	36	19	26	24
American books and writers	11	24	2	36	18
American libraries	15	32	3	22	18
American religious ideas	25	9	9	-	11
American newspapers	-4	18	-6	13	5
American servicemen	13	9	-19	8	3
American foods and drinks*1	41	35	-41	-8	7
American magazines	-17	2	-24	9	-8
American clothing styles*1	13	-2	-27	-16	-8
American films	1	-36	-29	24	-10
American jazz	-2	-56	-40	-12	-28
Average nation rating	17	14	-5	-16	11

*1 It is probable that reaction to these items in West Germany would raise the general average somewhat.

AVERAGE NET FAVORABLE REACTION TO EFFECT OF VARIOUS ASPECTS OF AMERICAN CULTURE
IN THE FOUR MAJOR COUNTRIES OF WESTERN EUROPE



FRENCH RECEPTIVITY TO AMERICAN CULTURAL INFLUENCES LEAST AMONG COUNTRIES STUDIED...

The net percentages in the preceding table can be combined into simple indices or arithmetical means of the net favorable percentages in the various nations. These should not be taken as absolute figures but as comparisons of the four countries and a general indication of the reaction to an assortment of American cultural "exports." As the figures below indicate, the French stand alone in their definite general hostility to foreign cultural influences, whereas the other nations are almost on a par - with the British not significantly more receptive than the Germans or Italians.

Mean Favorable Percentages of Net Favorable Reaction to American Influences

Great Britain	West Germany	France	Italy
17	13	-5	16

The country-by-country results indicate somewhat differing reactions to various of the American influences.

Great Britain: here the reaction is widely favorable to individual Americans of various kinds, to American foods (perhaps partly from the food-package experiences dating back to World War II.) Unlike other nations, the British show considerable favorable reaction to American religious ideas.

Negative reactions in Britain are generally much less excessive than in other nations. Where they predominate or nearly predominate it is usually in the areas of mass media influences - films, jazz, newspapers and magazines, in that order. We can suspect that in the case of magazines they are usually thinking of cheap pulps, in the case of films of inferior Hollywood productions; in the case of newspapers, of tabloids rather than the New York Times or Herald Tribune. In the case of jazz, the situation may be more complex: it is perhaps much easier for the average Englishmen to distinguish between the Atlantic Monthly and Spicy Horror Comics than between Dizzy Gillespie and Elvis Presley and his British imitators.

West Germany: the West Germans represent a bi-modal pattern of reaction: that is, the net percentages are particularly favorable to what they feel are good influences but particularly negative to what they feel are bad influences. There are only two negative items - films and jazz. The results, on the surface at least, seem to call for more research into the question of whether any substantial overt official connection with American jazz in West Germany may please a limited number of enthusiasts but tend to strengthen an already-hostile association among the bulk of the nation.

France: here the problem is particularly complex. There are net favorable reactions to tourists, and students - individual Americans generally outside any governmental program. Other types of individuals, residents and servicemen, rank low. A single official activity - VOA - is rather highly favored. Books and writers and libraries - low for the general population - rank quite well among the better educated. There is much hostility to "imports" which seem to threaten two areas of traditional French supremacy - foods and drinks, and clothing, newspapers and magazines are resented. Among the lowest is jazz - a cultural export which has a smallish circle of aficionados among the younger people but is disapproved by the general population, including the larger part of the young and better educated. It appears that, as in West Germany, American jazz has definite counter-productive potentialities.

Italy: here the written word is particularly welcomed in the shape of American libraries, books and authors. American individuals, too, rank high, along with VOA and American movies. The Italians to a lesser degree share the French hostile reaction to American foods and drinks and clothing styles. And this nation is the only one where there is substantial hostility to American religious ideas. Here the reaction to jazz, while negative, is on the limited British pattern rather than the widespread German and French negativity.

X. Some Stereotypes of Americans

For a considerable period of time social psychologists have made use of lists of adjectives in order to examine the stereotypes that the people of different nations hold of their neighbors and of themselves. In 1948 this type of research - hitherto confined to the college campus of limited areas - was applied by UNESCO to several nations of Western Europe.[1] In 1955, European research organizations examined Western European attribution of several individual terms to America. Similar projects were also conducted on a country basis in France and elsewhere.

It was felt, however, that such research could only be regarded as preliminary. Two major questions still had to be answered: (1) are the lists of adjectives which respondents apply to various countries made up of the words which in fact are the ones they feel are most applicable? (2) are certain adjectives attributed to America actually productive of good or bad feelings toward us?

In order to answer the first question, in 1957 samples of respondents in four European nations were asked to volunteer the words which first came to their minds when they thought of Americans. This preliminary study provided a list of adjectives volunteered by the respondents themselves. From this collection of volunteered adjectives as a base a list of 26 individual adjectives was constructed. The list was modified slightly so as to include a few adjectives which were not named so frequently by the respondents but which were felt to be important to include or which occurred frequently in the writings of European commentators on America.

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[1] How Nations See Each Other, by William Buchanan and Hedley Centril. Urbana: University of Illinois Prese, 1953.

In order to answer the second point at issue, a second step was introduced into the standard question. Each time a respondent said that he felt a certain adjective particularly applied to Americans, he was then asked whether this was something that he liked about Americans, disliked about Americans, or whether it made little difference one way or the other. The question follows:

> "Here is a list of words that can be used to describe people. Will you go down the list and indicate each one that you feel, by and large, particularly describes Americans. Indicate as many or as few as you want. How about _____, Would you say that this word particularly describes Americans or not? What about the second word...?"

> "All right. Now, for each of the words you have picked I want to ask you this: is this something you like very much about Americans, dislike very much, or doesn't it make much difference to you? How about (first word picked) - is this something you like very much about Americans, or dislike very much, or doesn't it make much difference to you?"

Thus for each word on the list, two results are provided: first, whether or not the quality is seen as particularly applicable to Americans; and second, to what extent attribution of this quality to Americans is associated with favorable, unfavorable or neutral reaction. By substracting unfavorable results from favorable a "Net" percentage is obtained indicating how much net credit or discredit in each country is involved. In the list of 26, half were adjectives considered on an a-priori basis to be generally-speaking "unfavorable"; half were "favorable."

A. The "Virtues" of Americans

AMERICANS SEEN AS "PROGRESSIVE" BY MAJORITIES IN ALL FOUR NATIONS, AND THIS ATTRIBUTE NEARLY ALWAYS A CAUSE FOR FRIENDLY FEELINGS...

To majorities in all four nations - and particularly in West Germany and France - the adjective "progressive" is one that particularly applies to Americans. And among those who cite this attribute, it is almost universally classed as something that they like very much about Americans.

Progressive:	Great Britain	West Germany	France	Italy
No. of cases	(611)	(610)	(624)	(635)
Like very much	46%	67%	64%	52%
Dislike very much	1	1	2	-
Doesn't make much difference	5	4	7	3
No opinion	4	1	2	2
Total ascribing to Americans	56%	73%	75%	57%
Net Favorable:	45	66	62	52

BELIEF IN AMERICAN PROGRESSIVENESS APPEARS TO HAVE INCREASED OVER PAST PERIOD IN WEST GERMANY AND ITALY ...

Already widespread in 1948, the belief in the progressiveness of Americans has increased sharply over the past decade in West Germany and Italy. Since this adjective is almost always associated with a favorable reaction, we can also count on an improvement in friendly reaction toward this particular quality.

(1958) "Here is a list of words that can be used to describe people. Will you go down the list and indicate each one that you feel by and large particularly describes Americans. Indicate as many or as few as you want."

(1948) (UNESCO) "From this list of words on this card, which seems to you to describe the American people best? Select as many as you wish...If you have no particular feelings one way or another just say so."

Progressive:	Per cent applying to American people	No. of cases
Great Britain:		
1958	56%	(611)
1948	58	(1195)
West Germany (partial)[1]		
1958	75	(324)
1948	58	(3371)
France:		
1958	75	(624)
1948	75	(1000)
Italy:		
1958	57	(635)
1948	32	(1078)

[1] Since the 1948 UNESCO results and the results on the present survey will be compared several times in the course of this section, a word should be said about the comparability of the results on the two surveys. The two questions used appear to be functionally comparable though not identical. In both surveys, competent interviewing organizations conducted the field work (in Britain and France the same organizations in each study). In three nations national samples were used in both studies. A single exception is West Germany. In that nation, the 1948 survey was limited to the British Zone of Occupation. That area, compromising approximately the northern third of the present Federal Republic differs considerably from the rest of the nation, being more industrialized, more Protestant and more inclined to vote Social-democratic. And of course, its inhabitants would have had much less contact with Americans than inhabitants of the American Zone. For this reason, the trend comparisons in West Germany are limited to the present states of North-Rhine-Westphalia, Lower Saxony and Schleswig-Holstein along with Hamburg and Bremen - areas which correspond almost exactly with the 1948 British Zone of Occupation.

PREPONDERANCE ASCRIBE LOVE OF FREEDOM TO AMERICANS ...

A characteristic which earlier was most often cited as the chief common bond between their own nations and America - freedom of the individual - was also generally attributed to Americans. For half or more in all nations, the adjective "Freedom-loving" appears to be particularly applicable to Americans and to be something which is very much liked about them.

Freedom-loving: No. of cases	Great Britain (611)	West Germany (610)	France (624)	Italy (635)
Like very much	46	65	46	48
Dislike very much	1	-	-	-
Doesn't make much difference	4	3	4	2
No opinion	3	1	2	1
Total ascribing to Americans	54%	69%	52%	51%
Net Favorable	45	65	46	48

AMERICANS DEEMED FRIENDLY BY MAJORITY EXCEPT IN FRANCE...

To majorities of the population in three countries, the adjective "friendly" particularly applies to Americans, and it is further something about them which is nearly always liked. The single exception is France where only a third feel Americans to be particularly friendly. In view of the fact that France was at the top in hailing American progressiveness and average when it came to the term "freedom-loving", this French reaction cannot simply be written-off as a matter of general disgruntlement and an unwillingness to grant Americans good qualities.

Friendly: No. of cases	Great Britain (611)	West Germany (610)	France (624)	Italy (635)
Like very much	61%	61%	28%	51%
Dislike very much	-	-	-	-
Doesn't make much difference	8	3	4	5
No opinion	3	1	1	1
Total ascribing to Americans	72%	65%	33%	57%
Net Favorable	61	61	28	51

GENEROSITY FOUND TYPICAL AMERICAN QUALITY BY EVEN MORE THAN IN 1948...

The order of half or more in three nations attach the word "generous" to Americans. (Again, in France, the proportions are significantly below average.) The findings are reasonably close to those of the 1948 UNESCO study, though since that date there has been improvement in Britain and particularly in West Germany coupled with a slight falling-off in Italy. Almost no respondents indicate overt hostility to the generosity of Americans; but it is possible that a feeling of dislike for being the recipient of aid may account in part for the relatively low proportion in France who apply the adjective to Americans.

Generous:	Great Britain	West Germany	France	Italy
No. of cases	(587)	(585)	(596)	(637)
Like very much	58%	64%	35%	46%
Dislike very much	1	1	1	-
Doesn't make much difference	5	3	1	2
No opinion	4	1	1	2
Total ascribing to Americans	68%	69%	38%	50%
Net Favorable	57	63	34	46

Per cent applying adjective to Americans:				
1948 (UNESCO)	52	46	34	60
1958	68	71[1]	38	50

BRITISH LEAST LIKELY TO CONSIDER AMERICANS "RESOURCEFUL"...

In three nations the adjective "resourceful" is applied to Americans by close to half the population. Britain, however, is appreciably below the general level, with only the order of one in three seeing Americans endowed with this attribute. Further research is needed to find the basis of this difference.

Resourceful:	Great Britain	West Germany	France	Italy
No. of cases	(587)	(585)	(596)	(637)
Like very much	27%	42%	38%	48%
Dislike very much	1	-	2	-
Doesn't make much difference	5	3	5	1
No opinion	3	1	2	2
Total ascribing to Americans	36%	46%	47%	51%
Net Favorable	26	42	36	48

[1] For purposes of comparability with 1948 the 1958 West German figures are limited to the states compromising the former British Zone of Occupation.

AMERICANS GENERALLY HAVE IMPROVED REPUTATION AS 'HARDWORKING' SINCE 1948...

Since 1948, Americans seem to have improved their collective reputation as hardworking - and particularly so in West Germany where that quality is likely to be regarded as a really primary virtue. Only in France has there been a dropping off. Most respondents citing this quality feel that it was something they liked very much about Americans.

Hardworking:	Great Britain	West Germany	France	Italy
No. of cases	(587)	(585)	(596)	(637)
Like very much	40%	42%	24%	45%
Dislike very much	1	-	1	-
Doesn't make much difference	4	1	-	2
No opinion	4	1	-	2
Total ascribing to Americans	49%	44%	25%	49%
Net Favorable	39	42	23	45

Per cent applying adjective to Americans:				
1948 (UNESCO)	32	19	37	39
1958	49	48[2]	25	49

FARMERS GENERALLY LEAST LIKELY TO BELIEVE AMERICANS HARDWORKING...

In most countries, one group - the farmers - are least likely to feel that the adjective "hardworking" particularly applies to Americans. This may stem from the fact that farmers are least likely to have contact with Americans, direct or indirect, and also from a common tendency of farmers everywhere to see other occupational groups as comparatively less industrious than themselves.

Reactions of Farmers and Farmhands

Hardworking:	Great Britain[3]	West Germany	France	Italy
No. of cases		(57)	(62)	(188)
Like very much	-	17%	16%	39%
Dislike very much	-	-	-	-
Doesn't make much difference	-	-	2	-
No opinion	-	-	-	2
Total ascribing to Americans	-	17%	18%	41%
Net Favorable	-	17	16	39

[1] "The ability to work hard and be industrious is the highest virtue to which Germans of most classes aspire and their strongest condemnation of other peoples is that they are lazy." Notes of Survey Agency in UNESCO Study. See Cantril and Buchanan, op. cit., p. 153.

[2] Former British Zone of Occupation only.

[3] In Britain there were too few farmers and farmhands in the sample to be presented separately.

AMERICAN "ENTHUSIASM" FREQUENTLY ACKNOWLEDGED, BUT REACTION BY NO MEANS UNQUALIFIEDLY ENTHUSIASTIC . . .

The "enthusiastic" American is accepted as a picture of the American people by large segments of the population in all countries. But the reaction to this stereotype is by no means enthusiastic. Thus, while the net gain is still well on the positive side, for the first time we run into a favorable aspect of the Image of Americans which has a more than minuscule non-productive or counter-productive effect.

Enthusiastic:	Great Britain	West Germany	France	Italy
No. of cases	(611)	(610)	(624)	(625)
Like very much	31%	38%	25%	30%
Dislike very much	2	1	1	2
Doesn't make much difference	7	5	8	6
No opinion	3	1	1	1
Total ascribing to Americans	43%	45%	35%	35%
Net Favorable	29	37	24	28

AMERICAN "TRUSTWORTHINESS" IS LESS EVIDENT TO EUROPEANS . . .

"Trustworthy" is an adjective applied to Americans by only the order of a fifth to a third of the population - a significant drop from the levels for the adjectives discussed in the preceding pages.

Trustworthy:	Great Britain	West Germany	France	Italy
No. of cases	(587)	(585)	(596)	(637)
Like very much	27%	36%	19%	27%
Dislike very much	1	1	-	-
Doesn't make much difference	1	-	-	4
No opinion	2	-	1	1
Total ascribing to Americans	31%	37%	20%	32%
Net Favorable	26	35	19	27

ONLY IN WEST GERMANY ARE AMERICANS CONSIDERED PARTICULARLY "EFFICIENT"...

It is probable that the average American would attribute to himself a particular quality of efficiency. And in the past, American efficiency has been something of a cliche throughout the world. Thus it is surprising to see that only in West Germany is this quality generally granted to Americans. In Britain, the order of one in three feel that "efficient" particularly describes Americans; in France and Italy, less than one in five. In view of the tendency evinced earlier by large majorities to consider Americans "progressive", it is clear that for many Europeans Americans progressiveness is not necessarily seen as efficient.

Efficient:	Great Britain	West Germany	France	Italy
No. of cases	(611)	(610)	(624)	(635)
Like very much	30	47	12	15
Dislike very much	-	-	-	-
Doesn't make much difference	3	3	2	2
No opinion	3	1	-	1
Total ascribing to Americans	36%	51%	14%	18%
Net Favorable	30	47	12	15

AMERICANS" "EASYGOING" WAYS GENERALLY ACKNOWLEDGED BUT SOMETIMES CREATE HOSTILITY...

The easy going American, with his informal ways, is one of the most widely accepted stereotypes. The reaction to this picture, however, is not always favorable. This is an appreciable amount of negativity and indifference in Great Britain and a rather strikingly adverse reaction in Italy. This latter, however, needs more investigation because of the possibility that the translation employed in this instance "facilone" goes somewhat beyond the literal English with an implication of superficiality and shallowness.

Easy-Going:	Great Britain	West Germany	France	Italy
No. of cases	(611)	(610)	(624)	(635)
Like very much	32	37	32	4
Dislike very much	7	2	2	29
Doesn't make much difference	13	7	9	7
No opinion	4	1	2	1
Total ascribing to Americans	56%	47%	45%	41%
Net Favorable	25	35	30	25

AMERICANS NOT GENERALLY REGARDED AS TOLERANT...

Tolerance is not generally regarded as a virtue particularly applicable to Americans. Except in West Germany where the level rises to the order of one in three, no more than a fifth consider the adjective "tolerant" as generally descriptive of Americans. However, among those who feel Americans are tolerant, nearly all like them for the virtue.

A single exception is Italy. There few people like Americans for their tolerance, and almost as many dislike them for that apparent virtue. This negative reaction to American tolerance appears most frequently among PCI and PSI sympathizers and neo-Fascists; but it also is found among right wing socialists and the small but influential business and professional group. Among all of these, those who dislike Americans for their tolerance equal or exceed those who like them for it.

Tolerant:	Great Britain	West Germany	France	Italy
No. of cases	(587)	(585)	(596)	(637)
Like very much	12	29	13	10
Dislike very much	1	1	1	5
Doesn't make much difference	3	1	1	4
No opinion	1	1	-	1
Total ascribing to Americans	17%	32%	15%	20%
Net: "Like" minus "Dislike"	11	28	12	5

AMERICAN "IDEALISM" NOT GENERALLY ACCEPTED AND ATTRACTS LITTLE FAVORABLE REACTION...

American idealism - a theme frequently stressed in unofficial sources - is an hypothesis rather sparsely accepted in Western Europe. And even among those few who do consider Americans to be idealistic only slightly more than half consider this quality as something they like about Americans. (The virtue is least regarded in Italy.) Thus the "American idealist" theme appears to have low credibility and is not particularly attractive to a large proportion of those who consider the quality applicable to Americans.

Idealistic:	Great Britain	West Germany	France	Italy
No. of cases	(587)	(585)	(596)	(637)
Like very much	14	17	13	8
Dislike very much	2	1	1	4
Doesn't make much difference	5	2	4	3
No opinion	2	1	-	-
Total ascribing to Americans	23%	21%	18%	15%
Net: "Like" minus "Dislike"	12	16	12	4

BETTER EDUCATED GENERALLY MORE LIKELY TO ATTRIBUTE FAVORABLE QUALITIES TO AMERICANS AND TO ESTEEM THEM FOR IT...

Rather consistently in all four nations, the better-educated minority are significantly more likely than the less-educated to attribute favorable qualities to Americans and to indicate esteem for Americans because of this. The table below presents the contrasts in terms of net favorable percentages. Part of the variation in the net favorable percentages stems from the greater tendency on the part of the less-educated to have no opinion: among those of lesser-educated who do attributed various "good" qualities to Americans, the ratio of consequent liking to dislike is sometimes not too dissimilar to the same ratio found among the larger proportions of the better-educated who attribute the same qualities to Americans. But this factor, while it accounts for some of the variation in net favorable percentages, by no means accounts for all of it. The better-educated are as a rule more inclined to attribute favorable qualities to Americans and when they do, to say they like Americans for these qualities.

Differences between educational groups appear to be least frequent in Britain - possibly because there all classes of the population are likely to have some contact with America (if no more direct than commercial TV) on which to base an opinion. In general, the educational variations are found for all the "good" adjectives, with the exception of the last two - "tolerant" and"idealistic". In these two instances, net favorable reaction of both educational groups is generally similar - and low.

"Here is a list of words that can be used to describe people. Will you go down the list and indicate each one that you feel, by and large, particularly describes Americans. Indicate as many or as few as you want."

"All right. Now for each of the words you have picked I want to ask you this: is this something you like very much about Americans, dislike very much, or doesn't it make much difference to you?"

Net Reaction of More-educated and Less-educated to Favorable Adjectives About Americans

	Great Britain		West Germany		France		Italy	
	Secondary College Ed.	Primary Ed. or none	Secondary College Ed.	Primary Ed. Or none	Secondary College Ed.	Primary Ed. or none	Secondary College Ed.	Primary Ed. or none
No. of cases	(89;97)	(409;393)	(102;106)	(508;479)	(116;105)	(506;491)	(123;112)	(410;409)
Progressive	62	41	85	63	71	61	70	52
Freedom-loving	48	43	76	63	52	44	62	41
Friendly	63	58	72	58	38	26	59	47
Generous	68	53	74	60	45	33	55	41
Resourceful	34	22	58	39	48	34	66	39
Hardworking	48	36	48	39	36	19	58	39
Trustworthy	37	29	43	35	25	18	33	23
Enthusiastic	36	24	52	37	39	21	46	21
Efficient	36	29	59	44	27	9	25	11
Easygoing	28	26	50	32	44	27	-35	-22
Tolerant	7	12	40	26	18	10	7	4
Idealistic	15	11	15	16	12	11	12	1

Summary of Reaction to "Favorable" Adjectives

A picture of Americans as progressive and freedom-loving is accepted by majorities of the people of all four nations and cited as something admired about Americans. No other favorable quality on the list used had such universal appeal; but the terms friendly and generous appear to have particular attraction among the people of Britain, West Germany and Italy, with the French alone tending to hold back.

There is a considerable tendency toward receptivity of the image of Americans as resourceful and hardworking (though the British tend to be skeptical of the resourcefulness, and the French of the hardwork.) But with the exception of West Germany American efficiency is not very widely credited: apparently for a considerable number of people progressiveness, resourcefulness and hardwork do not necessarily end up in efficiency.

American enthusiasm is one of the qualities widely considered as applicable to Americans, but by no means universally considered attractive. The same pattern can be found in the case of the adjective "easygoing." And in contrast, while those who think Americans particularly trustworthy nearly always like them for this quality no more than one in three tend to endow Americans with this virtue.

Relatively few give Americans credit for being particularly tolerant or idealistic; and in Italy even among the minority who grant them the qualities, the great majority do no appear to find them something likeable.

The table following indicates for each country the proportion of the population which feels a given quality is particularly applicable to Americans; the net favorable reaction to that quality in Americans; and finally the ratio between the first two percentages - a rough indication of the degree to which the quality is esteemed by those who feel it is applicable to Americans.

Some clue to over-all national reaction toward the "good" qualities can be found in the "Average" now at the bottom of the table, which compares arithmetical means of reactions to all twelve adjectives in the four nations. There is a slight but significant tendency for West Germans to be most likely to feel that these favorable qualities apply to Americans, with the British, Italians and French trailing in that order.

West Germans, also, appear to be most "consistent" in their reactions to these qualities, that is, among those who feel a certain adjective applies to Americans nearly all go a step further and indicate that this is something they like very much about Americans. Among the people of the other three nations such a reaction appears to be significantly lower.[1]

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[1] Italians appear to be lowest of all in this respect; but much of this variation can be attributed to the negative effect of a single adjective "easygoing". As noted earlier, this unfavorable reaction may partly have stemmed from the translation; and when this factor is taken into account, it is probably that the Italian average would be similar to that in Britain and France.

Summary Table of Reactions in Four Major West European Countries to Favorable Adjectives About Americans

Adjectives:	Great Britain			West Germany			France			Italy			FOUR-NATION AVERAGE		
	Apply	Net Fav.	Ratio	Apply	Net Fav.	Ratio	Apply	Net Fav.	Ratio	Apply	Net Fav.	Ratio	Apply	Net Fav.	Ratio
Progressive	56%	45	.80	73%	66	.90	75%	62	.83	57%	52	.91	65%	56	.86
Freedom-loving	54	45	.83	69	65	.94	52	46	.88	48	42	.88	56	50	.89
Friendly	72	61	.85	65	61	.94	33	28	.85	57	51	.89	57	50	.88
Generous	68	57	.84	69	63	.91	38	34	.89	50	46	.92	56	50	.84
Resourceful	36	26	.72	46	42	.91	47	36	.77	51	48	.94	45	38	.84
Hardworking	49	39	.80	44	42	.95	25	23	.92	49	45	.92	42	37	.88
Enthusiastic	43	29	.67	45	37	.82	35	24	.69	39	28	.72	41	30	.73
Trustworthy	31	26	.84	37	35	.95	20	19	.95	32	27	.84	30	27	.90
Efficient	36	30	.83	51	47	.92	14	12	.86	18	15	.83	30	26	.87
Easy-going	56	25	.45	47	35	.74	45	30	.67	41	-25	-.yl	47	16	.34
Tolerant	17	11	.65	32	28	.88	15	12	.80	20	5	.25	21	14	.67
Idealistic	23	12	.52	31	16	.76	18	12	.67	15	4	.27	22	11	.50
AVERAGE	45%	34	.76	50%	45	.90	35%	26	.80	40	28	.70	43	34	.79

A Note on the Qualities Considered Most Estimable in the Four Nations

In the UNESCO study cited earlier, respondents were asked to check the adjectives which applied to the people of various other nations, and to the people of their own countries. An examination of the extent to which adjectives were self-applied gives some insight into the popular hierarchy of values, since, by and large, respondents will tend to bestow on their own nations those qualities they deem most estimable and important to have.

The table following is based on the earlier UNESCO results. It indicates in each of the four nations the proportion feeling an adjective applies to their own people; the proportion feeling the adjective applies to Americans; and finally in the third column, in the cases of three adjectives which were repeated in the 1958 study, the proportion applying them to Americans ten years later.

> "From the list of words on this card, which seems to you to describe the American people best? Select as many as you wish and call off the letters and the words that go with them. If you have no particular feelings one way or the other, just say so."
>
> "Now select the words that best describe (own country)."

	Great Britain			West Germany[2]		
	Own People	Americans (1948)	Americans (1958)	Own People	Americans (1948)	Americans (1958)
Peace-loving	77%	39%	-	37%	23%	-
Brave	59	19	-	63	6	-
Hardworking	57	32	49	90	19	48
Intelligent	52	38	-	64	34	-
Generous	48	52	68	11	48	71
Practical	47	38	-	53	45	-
Self-controlled	44	10	-	12	11	-
Progressive	31	58	73	39	58	75

	France			Italy		
	Own People	Americans (1948)	Americans (1958)	Own People	Americans (1948)	Americans (1958)
Peace-loving	69%	26%	-	27%	29%	-
Brave	56	26	-	45	18	-
Hardworking	46	37	25	67	39	49
Intelligent	79	37	-	80	34	-
Generous	62	34	35	41	60	50
Practical	17	81	-	24	59	-
Self-controlled	12	34	--	5	16	-
Progressive	34	75	75	17	32	57

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[1] Buchanan and Cantril, op. cit.

[2] As noted earlier in this section, the West German survey in the UNESCO study was confined to the British Zone of Occupation. Thus, in this table, the three 1958 percentages in West Germany are based on the results from the present West German Laender which roughly comprised the British Zone in 1948.

AMERICANS GENERALLY ADMITTED SUPERIOR IN PROGRESSIVENESS AND GENEROSITY TO WEST EUROPEANS BUT INFERIOR IN OTHER IMPORTANT VIRTUES...

In the case of the 1948 results, it is possible to compare the percentages attributing certain virtues to the American people at that time with the percentages attributing the same virtues to the people of their own nations. In three cases, a partial trend comparison for 1958 is possible.

To the British and French, who ranked "peace-loving" high on the list of virtues possessed by themselves, Americans were definitely deficient in this quality - far below citizens of those two nations. And even in Italy and West Germany still in 1948 presumably reluctant at so early a date to claim this virtue, Americans did no better in Italy and slightly worse in West Germany than citizens of the two nations. It is probable that if the question were asked at present, Germans and Italians would rate themselves much higher than formerly in this virtue and the results would be more comparable to those in Britain and France. In any event, it is likely that this general tendency not to consider Americans as particularly peace-loving people is associated with much of the continuing criticism of the "rigidity" and "bellicosity" of American foreign policy. There is always a tendency to seek rationalization for stereotypes.

Among all four nations, the quality of bravery was widely self-attributed. Interestingly this virtue (one that Americans certainly attribute to themselves) was rarely attributed to them by other nations, whether former allies or former enemies. At the same time, Americans were everywhere considered more progressive than the respondents' own compatriots and the proportions have generally increased over ten years. It is possible that this high rating for progressiveness partly explains the low rating for bravery. Early studies in Germany have indicated the presence of a widespread feeling that Americans were not particularly brave and were mediocre soldiers who were victorious because of their greater progressiveness as revealed in their mass of mechanized equipment. Certainly, the fact that relatively few in the four countries called themselves progressive indicates that this virtue is not a primary one in many cases.

The stereotype of Americans as hardworking displays national variations and shifts over the past ten years. In Britain, it is a major virtue, in which Americans were once inferior to Britons but now are almost equal. A similar but less pronounced trend can be noted in Italy. In France, the virtue is less important, and Americans, once equal, have now declined. In West Germany, where hard work appears to be the ultimate virtue, Americans have improved sharply but are still far inferior to Germans.

Except in West Germany (again probably because of the inhibiting effects of remembrances of the war) generosity was ranked among the national virtues. In three nations, Americans were deemed superior in this important virtue in 1948 and have improved their position over ten years. Only in France has there been no change: Americans were rated considerably below Frenchmen in this quality in 1948 and have not improved their position.

In practicality Americans were rated rather high in 1948. In Britain and West Germany almost on a par with Britons and Germans; in France and Italy, far ahead of Frenchmen and Italians. However, in the last two nations, the fact that respondents rated their compatriots as low in this virtue gives rise to the suspicion that they are somewhat ambivalent toward it.

Intelligence is among the most important virtues in all countries, and in France and Italy is far and away the leader. On this count Americans did not fare very well. They were rated substantially below Britons and Germans and even further below Frenchmen and Italians.

A final virtue is that of self-control. Americans did poorly everywhere, but in France and Italy were deemed superior to the inhabitants of those nations. However, the general low self-ratings of this virtue indicate its relative lack of importance. A single exception is Great Britain, where le phlegme Britannique appears to be actually admired.

B. The Deficiencies of Americans

The virtues of Americans - those favorable adjectives found to be most widely applied to them - were balanced by a list of those unfavorable adjectives most generally attached to Americans.

MEDIOCRITY IS NOT CONSIDERED AN AMERICAN FAILING...

The statement has often been made in the past that in the eyes of Western Europeans - and particularly among the better educated - Americans are mediocre, ordinary, average. It may still be the feeling of small coteries but the criticism has hardly any mass support and no more among the better-educated.

Mediocre:	Great Britain	West Germany	France	Italy
No. of cases	(611)	(610)	(624)	(635)
Like very much	1%	2%	-%	-%
Dislike very much	2	2	3	6
Doesn't make much difference	3	5	3	4
No opinion	1	1	-	-
Total ascribing to Americans	7%	10%	6%	10%
Net Favorable	-1	0	-3	-6

Reaction of More-educated and Less-educated

	Great Britain		West Germany	
	Secondary/ College Ed.	Primary Ed. or none	Secondary/ College Ed.	Primary Ed. or none
No. of cases	(89)	(409)	(182)	(508)
Like very much	-%	1%	1%	2%
Dislike very much	2	-	3	1
Doesn't make much difference	5	3	(10	(6
No opinion	-	2	(	(
Total ascribing to Americans	7%	6%	14%	9%
Net Favorable	-2	1	-2	1

	France		Italy	
	Secondary/ College Ed.	Primary Ed. or none	Secondary/ College Ed.	Primary Ed. Or none
No. of cases	(116)	(506)	(123)	(410)
Like very much	-%	-%	-%	-%
Dislike very much	4	3	8	6
Doesn't make much difference	4	3	3	5
No opinion	-	-	-	-
Total ascribing to Americans	8%	6%	11%	11%
Net Favorable	-4	-3	-8	-6

MYTH OF UNCULTURED AMERICAN NOT WIDELY ACCEPTED EVEN AMONG BETTER-EDUCATED ...

Another epithet frequently applied to American is "uncultured". Again, the results indicate how sparsely this description is accepted even in France and even among the better-educated. Europeans may not grant the U.S. a cultural level as high as their own, but the results indicate that this is a far cry from considering Americans to be uncultured. This unfavorable stereotype of America, though widely circulated and productive of considerable worry on the part of many Americans is of fairly limited significance - particularly compared with other and more serious epithets.

Uncultured:	Great Britain	West Germany	France	Italy
No. of cases	(587)	(585)	(596)	(637)
Like very much	-%	1%	-%	-%
Dislike very much	4	2	8	10
Doesn't make much difference	2	1	8	4
No opinion	1	-	-	1
Total ascribing to Americans	7%	4%	16%	15%
Net Favorable	-4	-1	-8	-10

Reaction of More-educated and Less-educated

	Great Britain		West Germany	
	Secondary/ College Ed.	Primary Ed. or none	Secondary/ College Ed.	Primary Ed. or none
No. of cases	(97)	(393)	(106)	(479)
Like very much	1%	-%	1%	*%
Dislike very much	7	1	3	3
Doesn't make much difference	6	2	(	(
No opinion	1	1	(	(1
Total ascribing to Americans	15%	4%	4%	4%
Net Favorable	-6	-1	-2	-3

	France		Italy	
	Secondary/ College Ec.	Primary Ed. or none	Secondary/ College Ed.	Parimary Ed. or none
No. of cases	(105)	(491)	(112)	(409)
Like very much	-%	1%	-%	-%
Dislike very much	15	6	20	8
Doesn't make much difference	9	7	4	3
No opinion	1	-	-	2
Total ascribing to Americans	25%	14%	24%	13%
Net Favorable	-15	-5	-20	-8

AMERICAN 'IMMATURITY MOST WIDELY ACCEPTED IN FRANCE, BUT NET EFFECT IS NOT ACTUALLY UNFAVORABLE...

Another common charge that Americans are immature-again does not appear to have widespread acceptance in Western Europe. It is most apt to be believed in France, but in that nation as many appear to like Americans as dislike them for that quality.

This belief in American "immaturity" is particularly widespread among the better-educated. But again in France, where the belief rises to majority stature among those with secondary or university education, the net reaction is as apt to be favorable as to be hostile. Apparently this American immaturity for many educated Frenchmen partakes of a certain freshness and charm. But for the better-educated elsewhere the reaction appears to be clearly negative in the net.

Immature:

	Great Britain	West Germany	France	Italy
No. of cases	(587)	(585)	(596)	(637)
Like very much	1%	-%	9%	-%
Dislike very much	7	4	7	9
Doesn't make much difference	8	2	18	3
No opinion	2	1	1	1
Total ascribing to Americans	18%	7%	35%	13%
Net Favorable	-6	-4	-2	-9

Reaction of More-educated and Less-educated

	Great Britain		West Germany	
	Secondary/ College Ed.	Primary Ed. or none	Secondary/ College Ed.	Primary Ed. or none
No. of cases	(97)	(393)	(106)	(479)
Like very much	-%	1%	1%	*%
Dislike very much	13	4	9	3
Doesn't make much difference	18	6	(	(
No opinion	2	1	(1	(3
Total ascribing to Americans	33%	12%	11%	6%
Net Favorable	-13	-3	-8	-3

	France		Italy	
	Secondary/ College Ed.	Primary Ed. or none	Secondary/ College Ed.	Primary Ed. or none
No. of cases	(105)	(491)	(112)	(409)
Like very much	18%	6%	-%	-%
Dislike very much	21	4	16	6
Doesn't make much difference	26	17	3	3
No opinion	2	1	1	1
Total ascribing to Americans	67%	28%	20%	10%
Net Favorable	-3	2	-16	-6

BRITISH MORE THAN OTHERS ANNOYED BY AMERICAN IMPATIENCE ...

The Impatient American, with his infuriating tendency to try to force older civilizations to his pace is not very widely accepted as typical in Europe; and even less does it appear to be a source of hostility. Only in Britain is there a net unfavorable reaction amounting to even a tenth.

Impatient:	Great Britain	West Germany	France	Italy
No. of cases	(587)	(585)	(596)	(637)
Like very much	1%	4%	2%	2%
Dislike very much	14	6	6	6
Doesn't make much difference	10	2	10	6
No opinion	4	-	-	1
Total ascribing to Americans	29%	12%	18%	15%
Net Favorable	-13	-5	-4	-4

ALLEGED AMERICAN 'IRRESPONSIBILITY' MOST IRKSOME IN BRITAIN AND ITALY BUT IRRITATION EVEN THERE NOT WIDESPREAD...

Most irksome to Britons and Italians, American "irresponsibility" even in those nations does not appear to annoy very many.

Irresponsible:	Great Britain	West Germany	France	Italy
No. of cases	(587)	(585)	(596)	(637)
Like very much	1%	-%	-%	-%
Dislike very much	11	3	6	14
Doesn't make much difference	7	-	2	2
No opinion	1	-	-	1
Total ascribing to Americans	20%	3%	8%	17%
Net Favorable	-10	-3	-6	-14

THE GULLIBLE AMERICAN IS NOT A WIDELY ACCEPTED STEREOTYPE AND EXCITES LITTLE BAD FEELING: ITALIAN LEVEL OF ACCEPTANCE AND ANNOYANCE IS TWICE GENERAL LEVEL ...

For the people of three nations, Americans are rarely seen as "gullible" and net dislike for this quality is quite low. In Italy, however, almost one in three do consider Americans to be gullible, and one in five say that this is an American quality they dislike very much.[1] Irritation is particularly widespread among the wealthier and better-educated Italians. In France, this quality is almost as apt to be liked as disliked, possibly from a combination of the same motives which lead to a liking of American "immaturity" and from motives of good business.

Gullible:	Great Britain	West Germany	France	Italy
No. of cases	(587)	(585)	(596)	(637)
Like very much	-%	1	3%	2%
Dislike very much	5	10	5	20
Doesn't make much difference	8	3	7	8
No opinion	2	1	-	1
Total ascribing to Americans	15%	15%	15%	31%
Net Favorable	-5	-9	-2	-18

[1] The adjective used in translation in Italy, "creduloni" would appear to be rather similar to the French "credule", and in France there was no such widespread application of the term to Americans and no such heavy negative reaction. It may be a matter of differing cultural emphases, with gullibility a quality particularly despised by Italians. However, the reason for the particular Italian reaction to the adjective is not evident on the basis of the data collected and must be left to future research.

AMERICAN MATERIALISM NOT A SOURCE OF WIDESPREAD DISLIKE, AND IN BRITAIN IS ACTUALLY CONSIDERED A VIRTUE...

Of all the epithets applied to Americans, perhaps the one which has got the most mileage is "materialistic." The American people have been assailed for this alleged flaw in their characters both by European critics and by American uplifters. The situation is complicated by the fact that the Communists confuse the issue by calling themselves materialists.[1]

The results indicate that large proportions (the order of half in two of the four nations) feel that Americans are materialistic. At the same time not all of this group consider that this is something they dislike, and minorities actually like this quality they ascribe to Americans. In Britain the results are most striking. In this nation where the translation factor is hardly involved, if anything somewhat more people appear to like American materialism than dislike it. The results indicate rather strongly that the belief in American materialism, while widely accepted, is considerably less of a handicap than some have supposed and in some instances may even be an advantage. Conversely, it can be recalled that rather few accept the stereotype of American idealism, and still fewer find it something to like about Americans.

Materialistic:	Great Britain	West Germany	France	Italy
No. of cases	(587)	(585)	(596)	(637)
Like very much	11%	7%	8%	3%
Dislike very much	6	22	25	12
Doesn't make much difference	12	12	18	6
No opinion	4	5	3	1
Total ascribing to Americans	33%	46%	54%	22%
Net Favorable	5	-15	-17	-9

LAWLESSNESS AND IMMORALITY NOT WIDELY ASCRIBED TO AMERICANS...

Although the alleged lawlessness and immorality of Americans, particularly as displayed by juvenile delinquents, are standard fodder for Europeans mass media, such vices are infrequently ascribed to Americans. The net unfavorable reaction in all nations is about the order of ten percentage points.

Lawless:	Great Britan	West Germany	France	Italy
No. of cases	(587)	(585)	(596)	(637)
Like very much	1%	-%	1%	-%
Dislike very much	6	7	13	13
Doesn't make much difference	1	1	4	1
No opinion	2	1	-	1
Total ascribing to Americans	10%	9%	18%	15%
Net Favorable	-5	-7	-12	-13

Immoral:				
No. of cases	(611)	(610)	(624)	(635)
Like very much	-%	-%	-%	1%
Dislike very much	7	7	9	15
Doesn't make much difference	2	1	2	3
No opinion	-	-	-	1
Total ascribing to Americans	9%	8%	11%	20%
Net Favorable	-7	-7	-9	-14

[1] In their role of putting ideals above people the Communists certainly qualify as perhaps the outstanding idealists of our time in an ironic literal sense.

AMERICAN 'RUDENESS' IRKS FRENCH AND BRITISH BUT FEW FIND IT TYPICAL, NOR IS AMERICAN 'SUPERFICIALITY' A SOURCE OF MUCH DISLIKE...

The Rude American of legend is not generally accepted by Europeans and dislike is relatively low.[1] Irritation appears to run no higher than the order of fifteen per cent.

Another frequent criticism - alleged American superficiality - also is not widely accepted nor productive of much dislike.

Rude	Great Britain	West Germany	France	Italy
No. of cases	(611)	(610)	(624)	(635)
Like very much	-%	-%	-%	-%
Dislike very much	12	9	15	5
Doesn't make much difference	2	2	4	2
No opinion	1	1	-	-
Total ascribing to Americans	15%	12%	19%	7%
Net favorable	-12	-9	-15	-5

Superficial	Great Britain	West Germany	France	Italy
No. of cases	(611)	(610)	(624)	(635)
Like very much	2	1	-%	-%
Dislike very much	8	12	9	16
Doesn't make much difference	4	7	10	5
No opinion	1	-	1	1
Total ascribing to Americans	15%	20%	20%	22%
Net favorable	-6	-11	-9	-16

[1] Further oblique indication of this finding can be noted in Section IX, where the American tourist, to whom the epithet "rude" has been so frequently attached, is the most favored of all the "exports" from America.

THE "WASTEFUL" AMERICAN QUITE WIDELY ACCEPTED AS TYPICAL: DISLIKE FOR THIS QUALITY PARTICULARLY HIGH IN GERMANY AND ITALY...

The stereotype of the "wasteful" American is one quite widely accepted as typical. Those feeling the epithet particularly applies to Americans range from a fourth of the British to a majority of the French. But reaction to this stereotype varies widely from nation to nation. Of particular interest is the French reaction: there almost as many find it something likable as find it reprehensible, possibly in reaction to the preoccupation with thrift and saving in their own culture. Or it may be seen as an unavoidable concomitant of American generosity.

In all nations it is the lower middle class (and generally the actual poor) who are most widely negative toward American waste. The business and professional men, for example, are considerably less upset. In France, indeed, this group actually reacts favorably toward American wastefulness.

	Great Britain	West Germany	France	Italy
Domineering:				
No. of cases	(611)	(610)	(624)	(635)
Like very much	1	2	10	4
Dislike very much	16	23	15	28
Doesn't make much difference	5	8	26	10
No opinion	3	1	3	1
Total ascribing to Americans	25%	34%	54%	43%
Net favorable	-15	-21	-5	-24

BELIEF THAT AMERICANS ARE DOMINEERING HAS INCREASED OVER TEN YEARS, AND IS USUALLY MUCH DISLIKED ...

We have now arrived at the two epithets hurled at Americans which have the greatest credibility in West Europe and appear to cause the largest amount of dislike.

The first epithet is "domineering" - which is one of the more widely accepted everywhere and particularly so in Britain and France. Since 1948, there has been a significant rise in the proportions applying the word to Americans in Italy and West Germany. And as a rule those who cite the phrase as applicable to Americans go on to say it is something they dislike very much.

	Great Britain	West Germany	France	Italy
Domineering:				
No. of cases	(611)	(610)	(624)	(635)
Like very much	1	[illegible]	1	-
Dislike very much	29	18	39	18
Doesn't make much difference	6	3	3	3
No opinion	2	[illegible]	2	-
Total ascribing to Americans	38%	21%	45%	21%
Net "Like" minus "Dislike"	-28	-18	-38	-18
Per cent applying adjective to Americans				
1948 (UNESCO)	37%	10%	46%	11%
1958 (UNESCO)	38%	21	45%	21%

AMERICAN BOASTFULNESS PARTICULARLY DISLIKED IN BRITAIN...

The Boastful American appears to be an almost universal stereotype to Englishmen. No less than eight out of ten found that the epithet applied. In West Germany and France only about half as many found the accusation just. (In France, it should be noted that American boastfulness is considerably less irksome than American domineering ways.)

	Great Britain Oct. '58	West Germany Oct. '58	France Oct. '58	Italy [1]
No. of cases	(587)	(585)	(596)	
Boastful				
Like very much	4%	1%	-%	
Dislike very much	42	25	22	NOT
Doesn't make much difference	29	4	16	ASKED
No opinion	3	—	1	
Total ascribing to Americans	78%	30%	39%	
Net: "like" minus "dislike"	-38	-24	-22	

[1] In Italy, unfortunately, the adjective was not included on the list. It was felt that no Italian word in common and polite use was available by which to translate "boastful."

BETTER EDUCATED MORE LIKELY TO BE FAVORABLE IN THEIR ADJECTIVES, BUT ARE OCCASIONALLY LIKELY TO BE MORE UNFAVORABLE...

Although they are more likely than the mass of the population to attribute favorable qualities to Americans and to express liking of these qualities the better-educated are not generally more likely to attribute unpleasant to Americans and to react negatively. But, as the table below indicates, whenever there is a significant difference in the net favorable reactions of the two groups, it is the better-educated who are most negative. Some of this variation, of course, stems from a greater tendency on the part of the educated to have no opinion; but this by no means accounts for all the difference.

In Britain, West Germany and France there are few differences between the two groups; but in Italy, the better-educated are significantly more critical for half the adjectives. This tendency is particularly striking in that it is the poorly-educated group in Italy that contains the greatest proportion of PCI and PSI voters - groups nearly always less friendly to the U.S. than the mass of the population.

The American bad qualities which are most likely to find the better-educated more critical than the less-educated tend to be flaws of the sort which might be expected to irk educated Europeans most -- immaturity, lack of culture, gullibility, superficiality. The final adjective over which the better-educated in all nations, except Britain, react more negatively is materialistic. Here we may suspect that an economic factor is involved: it is the better-educated who are generally the well-to-do and generally already sufficiently supplied with the good things of life so that they can afford to look down on American materialism to a greater extent than their less well-equipped compatriots.

"Here is a list of words that can be used to describe people. Will you go down the list and indicate each one that you feel, by and large, particularly describes Americans. Indicate as many or as few as you want."

"All right. Now for each of the words you have picked I want to ask you this: is this something you like very much about Americans, dislike very much, or doesn't it make much difference to you?"

Net Reactions of More-educated and Less-educated

	Great Britain		West Germany		France		Italy	
	Secondary/ coll. ed.	Primary ed. or none	Secondary/ coll. ed.	Primary ed. or none	Secondary/ coll. ed.	Primary ed. or none	Secondary/ coll. ed.	Primary ed. or none
No. of cases	(89;97)	(409;393)	(102;106)	(508;479)	(116;103)	(506;491)	(123;112)	(410;400)
Mediocre	- 2	+ 1	- 2	+ 1	- 4	- 3	- 8	- 6
Immature	-13	- 3	- 8	- 3	- 3	+ 2	-16	- 6
Uncultured	- 6	- 1	- 2	- 3	-15	- 5	-20	- 8
Impatient	-13	-12	- 6	- 5	- 6	- 4	- 4	- 6
Irresponsible	- 5	-10	0	- 3	- 5	- 6	-12	-16
Gullible	- 9	- 4	-10	- 8	-10	0	-31	-16
Materialistic	6	+5	-26	-12	-27	-15	-21	- 8
Lawless	- 2	- 7	- 5	- 9	- 8	-13	-10	-16
Immoral	- 5	- 8	- 4	- 6	-13	- 8	-23	-13
Rude	-10	-11	- 8	-10	-18	-15	- 4	- 6
Superficial	-14	- 3	-20	- 9	-18	- 6	-26	-13
Wasteful	-17	-13	-23	-19	- 4	- 5	-30	-25
Domineering	-21	-30	-14	-18	-33	-39	- 9	-24
Boastful	-42	-36	-32	-23	-19	-22	NOT ASKED	

Summary of Reaction to "Unfavorable" Adjectives

Summarization of reactions to the unfavorable attributes in the tables below indicates that by and large West Europeans are not apt to react unfavorably to the various unfavorable adjectives attributed to Americans. Taking the list as a whole, and averaging results for the four nations, it appears that the order of only one in five attribute unfavorable adjectives, and that the net unfavorable reaction is only about half that - the order of one in ten.

Only for three "bad" qualities of Americans does the net percentage fall below the order of minus ten. These are the adjectives "wasteful", "domineering" and "boastful." It is clear that there is considerable susceptibility to criticisms of Americans that bring in these faults.

National reactions vary somewhat. For the British, it is boastfulness which is most irksome, with the concept of the domineering American less annoying; for the French the position of the two adjectives is reversed. Among the West Germans, wastefulness draws as much unfavorable reaction as the two leaders. In Italy, the adjectives "gullible" and "superficial" appear to be productive of as much negative reaction as "wasteful" and "domineering."

But despite these slight variations, the average net unfavorable reaction is almost identical for each nation.

When the over-all reaction to unfavorable adjectives is compared with that for favorable adjectives on page 109, it can be seen that West Europeans are twice as likely to be receptive to favorable attributes of Americans than unfavorable; and in addition are more likely to go a step further and indicate esteem for Americans for their good qualities.

Summary Table of Reactions in Four Major West European Countries to Unfavorable Adjectives About Americans

Adjectives:	Great Britain			West Germany			France			Italy			Four-Nation Average		
	Apply	Net Fav.	Ratio	Apply	Net Fav.	Ratio	Apply	Net Fav.	Ratio	Apply	Net Fav.	Ratio	Apply	Net Fav.	Ratio
Mediocre	7%	-1	.14	10%	0	.0	6%	-3	.50	10%	-6	.60	8%	-3	.38
Immature	18	-6	.33	7	-4	.57	35	+2	-.06	13	-9	.69	18	-4	.22
Uncultured	8	-4	.57	4	-1	.25	16	-8	.50	15	10	.67	11	-6	.55
Impatient	29	-13	.45	9	-5	.56	18	-4	.22	15	-4	.27	18	-7	.39
Irresponsible	20	-10	.50	3	-3	1.00	8	-6	.75	17	-4	24	12	-6	50
Gullible	15	-5	.33	15	-9	.60	15	2	.13	31	-18	.58	19	-9	.47
Materialistic	33	+5	-.15	46	-15	.33	54	-17	.31	22	-9	.41	39	-9	.23
Lawless	10	-5	.50	9	-7	.78	18	-12	.67	15	-13	.87	13	-9	.69
Immoral	9	-7	78	8	-7	.88	11	-9	.62	20	14	.70	12	-9	.75
Rude	15	-12	.80	12	-9	.75	19	-15	.79	7	-5	.71	13	-10	.77
Superficial	15	-6	.40	20	-11	.55	20	-9	.45	22	-16	.73	19	-11	.58
Wasteful	25	-15	.60	34	-21	.62	54	-5	.09	43	-24	.56	39	-16	.41
Domineering	38	-28	.74	21	-18	.86	45	-38	.84	21	-18	.86	31	-26	.84
Boastful	78	-38	.49	30	-24	.80	39	-22	.56	-	-	-	49	-28	.57
AVERAGE	23	-10	.43	16	-10	.63	26	-11	.42	19	12	.63	21	-11	.52

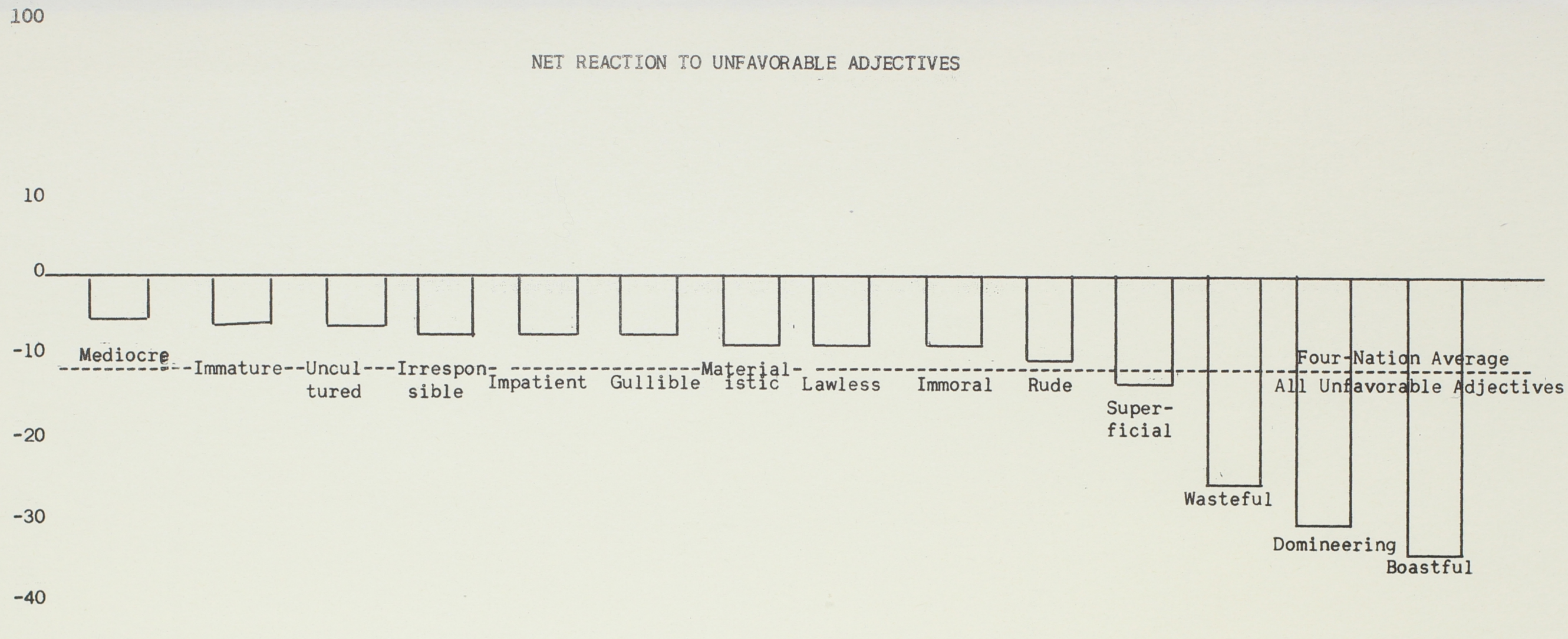
The graphs below compare the net reaction for the various "good" and "bad" attributes of Americans in terms of a four-nation average. In the positive area of the chart above the zero line, the four-nation average favorable reaction for all the "good" adjectives is 28 percentage points; and the reaction to the individual adjectives can be compared with this dotted line to give a rough comparative indication of whether any particular adjective attracts a reaction above or below par. A similar line, at minus 11 percentage points, allows the same type of comparison in the case of the "bad" adjectives.

The results indicate clearly that the American attributes "progressive", "freedom-loving", "friendly" and "generous" appear to yield credit well above par, while "easy-going:, "tolerant," and "idealistic" are rather unimportant elements of a favorable picture of Americans. On the negative side, none of the "bad" adjectives appear to be a source of much negative reaction with the exception of "wasteful", "domineering" and "boastful."

These findings, of course, apply to the area as a whole, and there are definite variations between the four nations which have been cited earlier.

NET REACTION TO FAVORABLE ADJECTIVES

NET REACTION TO UNFAVORABLE ADJECTIVES



XI. Sources of the Image of America

A final point to be examined is that of the sources of the Image of America, various of whose aspects have been covered in this study.

THE PRESS LEADS AS MOST IMPORTANT SOURCE OF IDEAS ABOUT THE UNITED STATES...

Despite the competition of newer and faster media of information, the written word - and basically the newspaper - still remains the chief source of ideas about America in the opinions of respondents. About the order of half in the four nations cite the press as their "most-important" source over the years.

The press has close rivals but these are not always the same in each nation - a fact which weakens the support for any one competing medium of information. Thus, in Britain, motion pictures and TV battle for second place, considerably below newspapers.[1] In West Germany, the commercial radio is the chief rival to newspapers, with magazines trailing. In France, commercial radio is almost on a par with the press, with movies far below. In Italy, movies are close to newspapers, with TV and magazines trying for third. Of official sources of information about America, VOA ranks high, being mentioned by proportions varying from five to fourteen per cent as "most important." American friends - the only direct contact - were ranked as most important by another tenth.

The results do not measure with perfect precision what in fact has been the most important source of ideas about America - people are often simply not aware of such influences. But it does measure what they consciously consider to be most important,

"Over the years, which of these has been the most important source of your ideas about the U.S.?" (CARD)

	Great Britain	West Germany	France	Italy	Four nation average
No. of cases	(1198)	(1195)	(1218)	(1272)	
Newspapers	44%	53%	59%	43%	50%
Movies	32	14	27	41	29
Radio--Other than VOA & AFN	16	40	53	21	33
Magazines	19	26	19	31	24
TV	28	10	6	29	18
Books	9	10	17	17	13
Other people	9	5	13	21	12
Radio - VOA	15	14	10	14	11
American friends	14	6	7	10	9
Teachers and school	2	2	6	4	4
Radio AFN	6	2	-	3	2
Other Sources..(List)[2]	1	2	9	-	3
No opinion	4	8	5	12	7
	189%*	192%*	231%*	250%*	215%

---

[1] The whole subject of whence ideas about America are consciously derived will be treated in a subsequent report based on a research study conducted in Great Britain

[2] Other sources in France (the only nation where they are cited by more than a handful) include as most important:

War contacts, World Wars I & II	3%
Friends and relatives who have been (or are) in the U.S.	2%
Contacts with U.S. troops now in France	1%
Conversation (unspecified)	1%

*Some respondents gave more than one answer, so totals exceed 100 per cent.

ELITE GROUPS MORE LIKELY TO CITE SEVERAL PRINCIPLE SOURCES OF IDEAS ABOUT AMERICA...

In examining the importance given to various sources of ideas about America by the chief groups in the populations of the four nations, as shown in the four tables following, the major difference in all countries is the significantly greater tendency of "elite" groups - the better-educated, the well-to-do, those in prestige occupations - to cite multiple sources of ideas.

This is not merely a matter of the obvious finding that the elite groups more often cite the printed word - newspapers, magazines and particularly books - or the influence of teachers and professors Such a finding could be expected. But they also are more likely to cite motion pictures and sometimes TV.

The better-educated, for example, generally make more frequent mention of almost all the major media. A single exception is TV, though in Italy this medium still appears to be more influential with the better-educated than the poorly-educated. But there, in a poor country, we are probably dealing more with a matter of economics than choice or habit. In general, the same differences though somewhat less clearcut can be found between the upper and lower socio-economic groups and professionals and executives as compared with less highly-ranked occupations.

Differences by age are small, but there is a tendency for both movies and TV to decline in importance as age rises. And in the contrast between rural and urban inhabitants, there is a definite tendency for the rural to be lower in a large number of instances, and in particular movies, books and magazines.

Italian Communist sympathizers tend to be lower on most items. The one source in which they exceed the general population is "other people" - presumbably other PCI supporters.

"Over the years, which of these has been the most important source of your ideas about the U.S.?"

A. Magazine
B. Newspapers
C. Radio - Voice of America
D. - AFN
E. - Other
F. TV
G. American friends
H. Teachers and school
J. Other people
K. Films
L. Books
M. USIS
N. Other sources
O. Don't know

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	J	K	L	M	N	O	TOTAL	No. of cases
Total population:																
Actual numbers	230	524	65	67	188	336	165	19	106	378	106	-	15	49	2248	1198
Percentages	19	44	5	6	16	28	14	2	9	31	9	-	1	4	188	--
Sex:																
Men	19	47	6	7	16	24	16	1	9	32	10	-	2	3	192	588
Women	19	41	4	5	16	32	12	2	9	31	8	-	*	5	184	610
Education:																
No school/elementary school	16	41	5	6	15	28	12	1	8	32	7	-	1	5	177	802
Secondary school	25	49	6	6	17	29	13	1	9	33	10	-	*	3	201	210
High school, university	26	50	7	6	16	27	23	4	12	27	16	-	2	2	218	186
Socio-economic status:																
Upper middle and well-to-do	25	49	7	5	15	31	22	3	9	27	14	-	1	2	210	298
Lower middle	17	43	5	6	16	29	11	1	9	34	7	-	*	4	183	804
Poor	17	36	2	6	18	12	10	-	9	30	5	-	-	11	156	96
Occupation:																
Professional, exec's	28	53	7	4	14	32	25	7	8	36	20	-	1	1	236	135
Small businessmen, independent artisans	9	32	3	3	20	35	10	3	11	26	3	-	1	3	159	66
White-collar workers	24	47	4	5	15	32	16	1	12	32	10	-	1	3	202	250
Manual workers	18	41	6	7	15	29	11	1	17	36	17	-	1	4	203	544
Agricultural, owner-manager and farm labour	(4)[1]	(14)	(1)	(1)	(2)	(7)	(2)	-	-	(3)	(1)	-	-	(4)	(39)	25
Retired, pensioners and students	14	44	4	5	19	14	13	1	11	20	8	-	1	7	161	178
Age:																
21-29 years	19	47	5	7	13	24	13	1	12	40	10	-	-	2	193	182
30-44 years	23	42	8	7	14	35	14	1	7	36	10	-	1	3	201	389
45-64 years	19	46	4	5	18	28	14	2	8	30	8	-	2	4	188	462
65 and over	10	39	3	4	18	15	15	1	12	19	7	-	1	8	152	165
Voting intention (Party best for self):																
Conservative	22	48	6	4	14	30	17	3	9	26	11	-	1	3	194	398
Labour	18	43	5	6	15	29	10	1	7	37	8	-	1	4	184	529
Liberal	19	40	10	8	17	27	18	3	13	38	12	-	-	2	207	116
Other	(1)[1]	(5)	-	-	(3)	(3)	(2)	-	(1)	(2)	(2)	-	(2)	(2)	(22)	15
No party preference	14	38	3	6	21	21	15	1	12	25	4	-	2	10	172	140
Town size:																
Rural	15	49	4	4	16	27	17	*	8	22	7	-	*	7	176	212
Up to 50,000	21	42	7	5	13	32	12	2	7	33	10	-	1	5	190	215
50,000 - 250,000	21	47	5	6	10	24	15	2	10	28	12	-	2	6	188	196
Over 250,000	19	41	5	6	19	29	13	2	9	36	8	-	1	2	190	575
Region:																
South England (including London)	21	48	6	7	18	28	16	1	11	35	10	-	1	3	205	413
The Midlands and Wales	18	43	7	4	14	24	10	3	9	24	9	-	1	8	174	293
Northern England	16	40	4	6	15	35	12	1	6	33	9	-	1	3	181	355
Scotland	23	44	5	4	15	21	17	1	7	33	7	-	3	2	182	137

[1] Actual number of cases appear in brackets where they are too few to be percentaged.

* Less than one-half of one per cent.

XII. Appendix: Some Aspects of the U.S. Image Among Communist Sympathizer in Italy

Among the sub-groups of the population, one is of such importance that its responses deserve individual consideration. This group consists of those respondents who openly list themselves as Communist sympathizers. The group is below the level of Communist voters, since a certain proportion of lukewarm sympathizers (and presumably a handful of persons really involved in the apparatus) did not identify themselves, or had voted Communist as a protest against the status quo without being particularly sympathetic. [1] Thus, those who did list themselves as being in favor of their local Communist parties can be considered as the more intense of the open Communist sympathizers. At the time of the survey in France, the PCF had in fact suffered an actual slight decline in votes coupled with a tendency to speak softly. Thus in that nation not sufficient PCF sympathizers were identified to give statistical reliability to the results. In Italy, in contrast, some 20 per cent of the sample listed themselves as Communists, about 120 persons in the A and B samples alike. A sub-sample of this kind must be handled with some care, but results can be considered as representative in at least an approximate sense. It can also be presumed on the basis of past surveys that the reaction of the Italian Communists sympathizers will be fairly similar to those of French Communist sympathizers.

The results which make up the PCI individual view of various aspects of the Image of America appear to be of considerable importance. They indicate where and to what degree the ideas of the individual Italian Communist about America differ from the official PCI line, and thus indicate possible points of separation between the PCI and its members, aspects of America about which the official PCI doctrine lacks credibility for its members. They also indicate areas where individual PCI sympathizers are most likely to accept a favorable picture of America if they can be reached.

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[1] The whole problem of motivations of Communist sympathizers is handled expertly in Hadley Cantrel, The Politics of Despair, New York: Basic Books, 1958. The group under discussion here are those who replied "Communist Party" to the question, "which political party do you think is best for people like yourself?" An earlier discussion of Communist vulnerabilities can be found in Public Opinion in Western Europe, Op. Cit., pp 51-61.

ONE OUT OF FIVE ITALIAN COMMUNIST SYMPATHIZERS EXPRESS LIKING FOR UNITED STATES AND FOR AMERICAN PEOPLE...

A sizable minority of the order of one in five of Communist Party supporters in Italy actually express a liking for the United States as a nation and for the American people. Another group of about the same size indicates that the reaction is no worse than neutral or undecided. Thus, only about half of the group actually expresses hostility to America and Americans - remarkably low for supporters of an organization among whose primary tenets is hostility to America. If the results had shown a great variation between attitudes toward the U.S. and toward individual Americans, this could be rationalized in view of the distinction often made in Communist propaganda. The fact that there was no variation indicates that a sizable proportion of the PCI voting strength is willing to differ with the official line on the issue of the U.S. Further, the findings indicate that a minimum of a fifth of the group has at least a favorable preconception toward the U.S. and should be susceptible to certain types of pro-American material if it could be gotten to them. Amother similarly-sized group is at least neutral enough so that they might be willing to absorb such material with reasonably open minds.

"Please use this card to tell me your feelings about various countries. How about...the United States?"

"Please use this card to tell me your feelings about the people of a number of countries. How about...American?"

Italian PCI Supporters

	Opinion of United States	Opinion of Americans
No. of cases	(124)	(121)
Very good opinion	6%	8%
Good opinion	15	12
Neither good nor bad opinion	17	27
Bad opinion	34	33
Very bad opinion	22	20
No opinion	6	-
	100%	100%
Net Favorable-	-35	-33

ITALIAN COMMUNIST SYMPATHIZERS FAIL TO SEE INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM IN RUSSIA ...

The simple slogen technique does not appear to augur success in reaching PCI sympathizers and in modifying their opinions of the U.S. In that area, the Party appears to have had considerable success in creating or strengthening a conditioned reflex so that Soviet Russia is apt to come automatically to their list at mention of a favorable slogan, the U.S. (or some other Western Power) at mention of a bad slogan. In this area of repetitious simplification the Party seems to have a rather firm grip on its adherents - with one important exception: "Freedom of the Individual" - a good quality that only one in three PCI supporters apply to the Soviet.

"Here are some words or phrases. What country do you think each phrase applies to most?"

	Most applicable to:		
	Soviet Union	United States	Other Western Nations [1]
Favorable			
The Use of Science for the Good of Mankind	73%	5%	-%
Ending the Production of Nuclear Weapons	68	2	-
Economic Security for the Common People	64	5	10
Economic Opportunity	61	5	3
The Use of Atoms for Peace	57	8	8
Freedom for the Individual	36	14	5
Unfavorable			
Imposing Own Ideology on Other Countries	16%	55%	-%
Stirring up Revolution in Other Countries	12	53	7
Domination of Other Countries Economically	11	71	2
Imperialism	7	43	28

[1] Tables do not add to 100 per cent because only the three responses - Soviet Union, U.S., and other Western Nations - are included in the interest of simplification.

MANY ASPECTS OF AMERICAN LIFE EXERT WIDE APPEAL FOR PCI SYMPATHIZERS; ATTRACTION OF AMERICAN ECONOMIC LIFE PARTICULARLY NOTABLE...

For segments of the PCI sympathizers, ranging from the order of a fourth to a majority, various aspects of American life appear to exert a definite appeal. This is particularly notable in the economic area: half the PCI group report a favorable opinion of American living conditions; four out of ten do so for American labor; and a fourth react favorably to business in America and to the general economic system in the U.S.

American science and American leisure time activities are particularly admired; and a third give a favorable response for women's activities in America and for American education.

This favorable rating is often matched by a desire to learn more about the particular subject. There is widespread interest, as well as good opinion, among PCI sympathizers in Labor in America, living conditions, the economic system and women's activities. In contrast, in the case of science, which enjoys the highest favorable rating, interest in learning more appears to be minimal. Note that favorable percentages in this instance are presented in terms of absolute percentages rather than "Net" favorable percentages.

Subject	Percent having Favorable opinion	Percent "Very" or "somewhat" interested
Science in America	55%	15%
Living conditions	49	48
Leisure time activities	45	22
Labor	39	54
Education	35	18
Women's Activities	30	28
Business	25	15
Economic system	24	31
Music	22	10
Politics	8	31
Family Life	6	34
Youth	17	23
The Negro	-	27
Religion	11	15
Literature	12	9
Art	9	8
Architecture	10	6

SEVERAL "IMPORTS" FROM AMERICA APPEAL TO LARGE SEGMENTS OF PCI SYMPATHIZERS ...

For substantial minorities of the PCI sympathizers, ranging from one in five to better than a third, various imports from America are considered beneficial to Italy. These include: tourists, students and more permanent residents; jazz; and, most encouraging, American libraries. Other imports from America attract few and repel many. Yet even such a major target of official PCI attacks as VOA is listed favorably by the order of 14 per cent. And the fact that in response to the question on VOA the order of half the PCI group has no opinion indicates that the Party line in this area has by no means reached the bulk of the PCI sympathizers.

"As you know, Italy is affected by other countries through such things as films, books, etc. Please use this card to tell me what kind of influence each of the following things from the U.S. has on Italy - a very good influence, more good than bad, more bad than good, or a very bad influence?"

	"Very good" or "More good than bad"	"More bad than good" or "Very bad"	No influence/ No opinion
American tourists	41%	29%	30%
American residents in Italy	25	26	49
American jazz	20	55	25
American students in Italy	23	20	57
American libraries	18	22	60
American magazines	15	40	45
Voice of America - radio	14	34	52
American clothing styles	13	40	47
American foods and drinks	12	39	49
American newspapers	10	54	36
American servicemen in Italy	8	70	22
American religious ideas	7	29	64